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BOOK VII.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PÁNINI.

27188

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY



SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.

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TO

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Bt. Q. C.,

LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

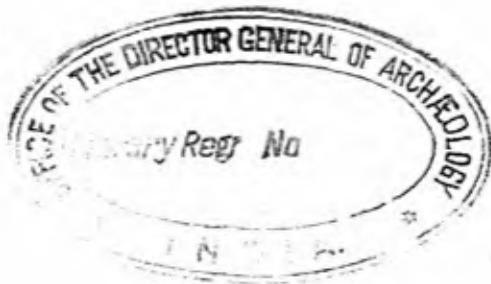
IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.





ओ३म् ।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

युवोरनाकौ ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-वोः, अन-अकौ ।

युतिः ॥ यु इत्येत्वोरुत्सूष्टविशेषणयोरननासिकयोः प्रत्ययोर्महं तयोः स्थाने वथासहस्र मन अक इत्येत्वादेशी भवतः ।

Kārikā युवोर्मेद् द्वित्वनिर्देशो द्वित्वे यण्तु प्रसज्जयते । अय ऐवेकवद्वावः कथ पुनर्ज्ञेदयम् ॥

द्वित्वे नैगमिको लोप एकत्वे तुमनित्यता । आशिष्यत्वाद्विलिङ्गस्य पुनर्स्वं वेहि समाप्तिम् ।

1. For यु and यु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

यु and यु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces यु ॥ Thus स्यु (III. 1. 134)=अन, as नन्द+स्यु=नन्दनः रमणः ॥ So also यु and युल् (IV. 3. 23), as सायंतनः, परिंतनः ॥ यु we find in प्युल् (III. 1. 133), as कृ+प्युल्=कारकः, हारकः ॥ So also युर् (IV. 3. 98) as वायुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Why do we say nasalised यु and यु? Observe ऊर्णवा युस् (V. 2. 123) Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have ऊर्णयुः ॥ So also in युजिष्ठङ्ग्यां युक्त्युकौ ॥ Here the यु of युक्त् and युक् (U३ III. 21) are not replaced by अन; as युज्युः and युत्युः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

The word युवोः is the Genitive Singular of युवु considered as a single word, i.e. a Samāhāra Dvandva compound in the singular, and such compounds are always neuter (II. 4. 17). The Genitive Singular of युवु is therefore युवुनः the augment being added by VII. 1. 73. The anomalous form युवोः shows the existence of the maxim that a rule ordaining an augment is not universally valid (अनित्यमागमशासनम्) ॥ Or the युवु may be considered as masculine Dvandva, and then it proves the maxim that the gender need not be taught, the usage of the people settles the gender of a word (लिङ्गमशिष्यं, लोकाश्रवत्वाद्-लिङ्गस्य) ॥ If, however, युवु be considered an itaretara-yoga Dvandva compound, then its Genitive dual will be युव्योः, one व् is elided as a Chandas irregularity, or the ऊ is elided, and we have the युव्+ओः=युवोः an anomalous dual.

Kārkā :—If युव् is taken as a *dual*, then there ought to be a semi-vowel (i.e. युञ्जः); if it is considered as Aggregate Singular, then it ought to be neuter, how is then युवेः masculine? (To this we answer), if it be taken as dual युव्, then there is elision of the वणादिता (i.e. व्); if it be taken as singular युव्, then the augment तुम् which comes in the Genitive Singular of Neuters, does not come here, proving that the rule of तुम् augment is Anitya (not of universal application). Or the word युव् is taken as masculine, because the Gender depends upon usage.

आयनेयीनीयिः कढखच्छधां प्रत्ययादनिम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयन्-पय्-ईन्
ईय्-इयः, फ-ठ-ख-छ-धाम्, प्रत्यय-आदिनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयन् एव ईन् ईय् इत्येते आदिशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यं र ढ ख छ घ इत्येतेषां प्रत्ययादीनाम् ।

2. आयन्, for फ्, पय् for फ्, ईन् for ख् ईय् for छ्, and ईय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

Thus फक् (IV. 1. 99)=आयन्, as नड + फक् = नाडायनः, चारायणः ॥ ढक् (IV. 1. 120)=एय् as सौपर्णेयः, वैनतेयः ॥ ख (IV. 1. 139) ईन्, as आङ्गकुलीनः, श्रोत्रियकुलीनः ॥ छ (IV. 2. 114)=ईय्, as मार्गीयः, वास्त्रीयः ॥ घ (IV. 1. 138)=इय्, as क्षत्रियः ॥

Why do we say 'of an *affix*'? Observe फक्ति, ढौकते, खनति, छिनति and घूर्णते, where these consonants are in the beginning of a *root*. Why do we say 'in the beginning'? Observe उहृज्ञम् जातुहृज्ञम्, where घ is in the *middle* of the affix; and remains consequently unchanged.

These आयन् &c, substitutions should be understood to have taken place at the very time the affixes फक् &c, are taught, and these substitutions being made, the rule of accent, which makes an affix acute on the first syllable, applies. Thus ख् is not acute, but ई of ईन् substituted for it. Similarly in IV. 4. 117, the affix taught is घच् with an indicatory च्, showing that the final of the affix ईच् will be acute (VI. 1. 163), and not of घ, for घ would have been acute by the general rule affix.

In शमे हः (Uṇ I. 99), शमे खः (Uṇ I. 102), the affixes र and ख remain unchanged, and we have शण्डः, and शंखः ॥ This is explained on the maxim of उणादयो बहुलम् (III. 3. 1). In the sūtra ऋतेरीयह् (III. 1. 29), the affix ईयह् has been taught and not छह्, this shows that the rule of substitution herein taught does not apply to the affixes to be added to the verbal roots. Thus एजेः खश् (III. 2. 28), परहृजविशस्पृशो घश् (III. 3. 16). Here the ख and घ are not replaced by ईन् and ईय् ॥ In fact, they cannot be regarded as affixes, but only as इत् or servile letters. By I. 3. 8, the gutturals are इत् except in Taddhita: therefore, the substitutions take place in Taddhita affixes, where the ख and घ are not इत् ॥

The final न् in आयन् and इत् should not, however, be considered as servile (इत्) though they be final consonants. This we infer from the sūtra

प्राचामद्वदात् फिन् बहुलम् ॥ Here the न् of फिन् is indicatory, showing the position of the accent. But फ is replaced by आयन्, so if the न् of आयन् were also to be indicatory (इत्) there would have been no necessity of adding न् in फिन् ॥ Hence the fact of this न् in फिन् shows that the न् in आयन् and इत् are not इत् ॥

झो अन्तः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झः, अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययादयवस्य शस्य अन्त इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

3. अन्त् is substituted for the झ of an affix.

The word प्रत्यय is understood here, but not so the word आदिः ॥ Thus झि becomes आन्ति and झा becomes अन्ति (III. 4. 78). As कुर्वन्ति, मुन्वन्ति and चिन्वन्ति, so also शायन्ते, the लेद् of शीङ् ॥ Thus शी + लेद् = शी + शप् + आद् + झा (III. 4. 54) = शी + शप् + आ + झा (III. 4. 79) = शी + शप् + आ + झै (III. 4. 96) = शी + शप् + आ + अन्तै (VII. 1. 3) = शी + आ + अन्तै = शायन्तै (after guna): as अन्य इत्ये विजगित्यमाणाः पतिभिः सह शायन्तै ॥ So also in the Uṇadi affix झच् (Uṇ III. 126): as झु + झच् = जरन्तै, वेषान्तः ॥ This substitution does not take place when झ is not part of an affix: as उज्जिता, उज्जितुम्, उज्जितव्यम् ॥ Here also the accent falls on the substitute, according as it is चित् or otherwise. Thus the substitute अन्तै of झा is first-acute by the rule III. 1. 3; but the substitute अन्तै of झच् is final acute because of the indicatory अ (VI. 1. 763) ॥

अद्भ्यस्तात् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, अभ्यस्तात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तातङ्गादुत्तरस्य शकारस्य अदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

4. अत् is substitute for झ after a reduplicated verbal stem.

As इद्वति, इद्वतु, इधति, इधतु; जक्षति, जक्षतु; जाप्रति, जाप्रतु ॥ This अत् is replaced by अन्तु, as अन्तुः, अन्धुः ॥ Here also the accent will be on the firstsyllable of the substitute. Thus अंति, अन्त, अंतै, अंतु, अंताम् in the subsequent sūtras. The accent of the reduplicates, however, is governed by VI. 1. 189, (अभ्यस्तानामादिः) ॥

आत्मनेपदेष्वनतः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अ नतः, (अत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यो शकारस्तस्यानकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

5. अत् is always substituted for the झ in the Atmanepada, when it is not preceded by a verbal stem ending in अ ॥

Thus चिन्वते, चिन्वताम्, अचिन्वतः; लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनतः ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe चिन्वन्ति, लुनन्ति ॥ Why "when not preceded by an अ"? Observe च्यवन्ते, प्लवन्ते, in which, though the roots are च्यु and प्लु, they assume the form च्यव and प्लव when the Vikarana शप् is added; the vikaraṇa is added *first*, because it is nitya; and then the substitution of अन्त or अत् for झा, as the case may be. The word अन्तः qualifies झा, the झा should be *immediately* preceded by a stem ending in a non-अ; if some other letter intervenes, the rule will not apply. Thus from शी—शायन्तै, here between शी and झा, intervenes the augment आद्, therefore झा is not preceded by a stem ending in non अ, but by आद् ॥

शीडो रुट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीडः, रुट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीडोऽन्नादुन्नरस्य शावेशस्यातो रुडागमो भवति ॥

6. The अत् substitute of इ, gets the augment रुट्, after the root शी ॥

Thus शेरते, शेरताम्, अशेरत ॥ The augment इ is added at the beginning of the affix, making अत्=रुट् ॥ Had this इ been an augment of इ, then like the आ॒ augment in शावान्ते, it would have intervened between the शी and इ, and इ not immediately following a non-इ stem, अत् would not have been substituted for इ at all. Therefore रुट् is made the augment of the *substitute* अत्, and not of इ ॥ The root शी is read in the sūtra with its anubandha इ in order to indicate, that there is no रुट् augment when there is elision of the Intensive affix यह्, nor any Guṇa. As व्यति शेषयते ॥

It is a general rule that an operation applying to a root which is exhibited with an anubandha, will not apply to the same root in its Intensive-yañ-luk form. The following verse shows when operations applying to simple roots will not apply to their Intensive forms :—

क्षितपा शापातुबन्धेन निर्विट्य यह्नेन च ।
यैत्रकाज् महणं यैव पंचैतानि न यह्नलुकि ॥

"These five sorts of operations will not apply to Intensive-yañ-luk forms : 1. When the simple root is exhibited in the sūtra with क्षितप् as भू in VII. 4. 73 is shown as भवति ॥ In Intensive, the perfect will be बोभवाभ्यकार and not बभवाभ्यकार ॥ 2. Where the root is exhibited with शप्, as the root भू in VII. 2. 49 is shown as भर ॥ There is इट् after the Desiderative of simple root but not in Intensive. 3. When a simple root is exhibited with an anubandha, as शीइ here. 4. Where a gaṇa is mentioned in a rule, as इयन् is taught after Divādi-roots (III. 1. 69). It will apply to simple roots of Divādi gaṇa, and not to their Intensive. 5. Lastly, where the word एकाज् is used in a sūtra. As VII. 2. 10. That rule will apply to एकाज् simple roots and not to their Intensives.

वेच्चेर्विभाषा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेच्चेः, विभाषा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेच्चरङ्गादुन्नरस्य शावेशस्यातो विभाषा रुडागमो भवति ॥

7. The अत् substitute of इ optionally gets the augment रुट् after the verbal stem विद् (वेच्चि) ॥

As संविद्ते or संविह्वते; संविद्ताम् or संविह्वताम्; समविद्त or समविह्वत ॥ The विद् is the Adādi root here, and does not apply to विन्ते, विन्दाते, विन्दते, which belongs to the Rudhādi class (विद् विचारणे) ॥

There is no augment in यह्नलुक् here also, as व्यतिवेच्चिदते ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (रुट्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रुडागमो भवति ॥

8. The augment रुङ् is diversely applied in the Veda.

Thus देवा अदुङ् ; गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुङ् ॥ Here अदुङ् is the Imperfect (लङ्) plural of दुङ् ॥ Thus दुङ्+हृ=दुङ्+रत्=अदुङ्, the त् being elided by VII. I. 41. Sometimes, the augment does not take place, as अदुहत् ॥ Owing to the word वहुल, 'diversely', the augment र् is added to other affixes also, than हृ ॥ As अदश्मृ in अदश्मस्य केतवः ॥ This is the aorist in अङ् of the root हृ by III. I. 57, the guṇa ordained by VII. 4. 16, does not 'diversely' take place.

अतो भिस पेस् ॥ ए ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, भिसः, पेस् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकाशान्ताद्वादुत्तरस्य भिस ऐसित्यय मादेषो भवति ॥

Kārikā ॥ एवं भिसि परत्वाचेतत् ऐस्वद भविष्यति । कृतेष्येत्वे भौतपूर्वादैस्तु नित्यस्तथा सति ॥

9. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

As वृक्षैः, शृक्षैः, अतिजरसैः ॥ Why do we say ending in अ? Observe अग्निभिः, वायुभिः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe खट्टाभिः, मालाभिः ॥ The adhikāra of "अतः" ('after a short अ'), extends up to VII. I. 17.

The form अतिजरसैः illustrates some important principles of grammar. अति + जरा = (जरामतिकान्नः) आतिजर (अ being shortened by I. 2. 48). The word अतिजर ends in अ, and therefore forms its Ins. pl. by ऐस् ॥ Thus अतिजर+ऐस् ॥ Now we apply VII. 2. 101, which says for जरा is substituted जरस् before vowel-beginning case-endings. It should not be objected, that the substitution is ordained for जरा and not जर; for the maxim एकदेशाविकृतमनन्यवद् भवति (a tail-less dog is still a dog) applies here. Having made this substitution, we get अतिजरसैः ॥ Nor should you object that it was the अ of जर which had given occasion to the existence of ऐस्, and that अ should not be destroyed, on the maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद् विद्यातस्य, for this maxim is not universal, as Pāṇini himself shows in employing the form कटाय (III. I. 14), in which ए of the Dative is changed into अ by VII. I. 13, and then this very अ causes the destruction of अ and makes it आ (See VII. I. 13 also).

Kārikā :—If there be substitution of ए for the final अ before the affix भिस् by the subsequent sūtra VII. 3. 103, where will then the present sūtra, causing the substitution of ऐस् for भिस् after stems ending in अ, find its scope, (because there will be no stem left ending in अ)? If even after changing अ into ए, you change the भिस् into ऐस्, because the ए was once अ (भौतपूर्वात्); then the rule of changing भिस् into ऐस् becomes a nitya rule, because it takes effect even after the application of rule VII. 3. 103, and being nitya it debars that rule. Thus वृक्ष + भिस् ॥ Here the subsequent rule VII. 3. 103, requires the अ to be changed into ए ॥ Thus वृक्षे+भिः: Now the present rule cannot apply because there is no अवत् stem. However, if considering that वृक्षे once

was अद्वन्, we change भिः to ऐस् then the rule becomes a *nitya* rule. In fact, it is a *nitya* rule and debars the application of VII. 3. 103, within its jurisdiction, VII. 3. 103, finds its scope in वृक्ष + शु = वृक्षेषु ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (ऐस्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमैसादेशो भवति ॥

10. In the Veda the substitution takes place diversely.

That is ऐस् is substituted for भिस् even after stems which do not end in short अ; as नवः; and some times the substitution does not take place even after stems ending in short अ, as, देवोभिः सर्वेभिः प्रोक्तम् ॥ देवो देवोभिरागमत् (Rig Veda I. 1. 4).

नेदमद्सोरकोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इदम्, अद्सोः, अ, कोः, (भिस् ऐस्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इदम् अद्स इत्येतयोरकारयोर्भिस् ऐस् भवति ॥

11. This substitution of ऐस् does not take place after इदम् and अद्स्, except when they end in क ॥

As एभिः, अभीभिः, but इमकैः, अषुकैः ॥ By VII. 2. 102, अ is substituted for the final of इदम्, as इद + अ = इद (VI. 1. 97). By VII. 2. 113, the इद is elided before भिस्, and the only portion left is अ, which becomes ए according to VII. 3. 103. For the final of अद्स् is similarly by VII. 2. 102, अ substituted, and अद + अ = अद् (VI. 1. 97), and according to our present sūtra, the form in Ins.pl. would be अदेभिः, but द् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 80, and ए to ई by VIII. 2. 81.

The exception made with regard to these forms ending in क, shows the existence of the following maxim : तद्मध्यपतितस्तद्यहणेन गृह्णते “Any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it.”

The sūtra has not been made as इदमद्सोः कात्, for had it been so constructed the rule would have applied to the क ending इदम् and अद्स् and to no other क ending pronoun, and we could not get the forms सर्वकैः, विश्वकैः ॥ Moreover such a construction would have made ऐस् applicable to इदम् and अद्स् also in their simple states : i. e. we could not have got the forms एभिः or अभीभिः ॥ Therefore the negative construction न अकोः is used in sutra in order to prevent the rule of contrariety.

टाडसिङ्गसामिनात्स्याः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ टा, डसि, डसाम्, इन, आत्, स्याः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्वादङ्गादुत्तरेणां टाडसिङ्गसाम् इन आत् स्य इत्येते अदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

12. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन for the Instrumental ending ; आ आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus वृक्षेण and वृक्षण ; वृक्षात् and वृक्षात् ; and वृक्षस्य and वृक्षस्य ॥ After stems not ending in अ we have the original ending, as पत्या, सख्या ॥ Some

would have the forms अतिजरसिन् and अतिजरसात् from अतिजर ॥ This is on the analogy of अतिजरसः [See Sūtra 9 ante]. Thus अति + जर = अतिजर (I. 2. 48). Then by VII. 2. 101, जरस् is substituted for जर before the vowel-affixes. These forms are not supported however by Patanjali. According to him the forms will be either अतिजरेण, अतिजरात्, or अतिजरसा and अतिजरसः but never अतिजरसिन् and अतिजरसात् ॥

डेर्यः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डे:, यः, (अतः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृच्चिः ॥ डेरिति चतुर्थ्येकवचनस्य महणम् अकारान्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य डे इत्येतस्य य इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

13. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus वृक्षाय, स्फुक्षाय, the अ is lengthened by VII. 3. 102, in spite of the maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तम् तद्विधातस्य ॥ “That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination”. Thus ए is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥

The डे: is the anomalous genitive case of the Dative ending ए; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28. The डे: should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ठे the affix of the Locative singular.

सर्वनाम्नः स्मै ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः, स्मै, (अतः डे) ॥

वृच्चिः ॥ अकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्य डे: स्मै इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

14. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

As सर्वस्मै, विश्वस्मै, यस्मै, कस्मै, तस्मै ॥ But भवते where the Pronoun does not end in अ ॥ When अङ्ग is substituted for इवम् (II. 4. 32) in anvādeśa sentences, then we have the form अस्मै ॥ But in अत्र इवम् + डे = अत्र अ + ए = अत्राएः, here the preceding word ends in आ and we could not have ए replaced by स्मै ॥ Therefore we infer that स्मै being an antaranga operation should be substituted first, and the sandhi afterward and we get अत्रास्मै ॥ (See VII. 2. 102 for the change of यद्, तद् &c into य, त &c). The change of ए into स्मै is antaranga as it depends upon one word, while the एकादेश long आ is bahiranga because it is an operation depending upon two words.

डसिङ्गयोः स्मात् स्मिनौ ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ डसि, डयोः, स्मात्, स्मिनौ, (अतः सर्वनाम्नः) ॥

वृच्चिः ॥ डसि इत्येतयोरकारान्तात्सर्वनाम्न उत्तरयोः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावादेशो भवतः ॥

15. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मात्

is substituted for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending ई॥

Thus सर्वस्मात्, विश्वस्मात्, यस्मात्, तस्मात् and कस्मात् ॥ सर्वस्मिन्, विश्वस्मिन्, यस्मिन्, तस्मिन् and अन्यस्मिन् ॥ But भवतः and भवति from भवत् ending in a non-अ, and बृक्षात् and बृक्षे in non-pronouns. See VII. 2. 102 for यद् तद् &c.

पूर्वादिभ्यो नवङ्यो वा ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-आदिभ्यः, नवङ्यः, वा, (सर्व-नामः डिसिडंधाः स्मात् स्मिनौ) ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यः सर्वनाम उत्तरार्डिसिडंधाः स्मात् स्मिन् इत्येतावदेशौ वा भवतः ॥

16. स्मात् and स्मिन् are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings, after पूर्व and the eight that follow it (I. 1. 34).

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or परे, अवरस्मात्, or अवरात्, अवरस्मिन् or अवरे, इक्षिणस्मात् or इक्षिणात्, इक्षिणस्मिन् or इक्षिणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपरे, अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अधरे, स्वस्मात्, or स्वात्, स्वस्मिन् or स्वे, अन्तरस्मात्, or अन्तरात्, अन्तरस्मिन्, or अन्तरे ॥ नवभ्य इति किम्, यस्मात्, यस्मिन् ॥

Why do we say 'nine only'? Observe यस्मात् and यस्मिन्, no option is allowed here.

जसः शी ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसः, शी, ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तात्सर्वनाम उत्तरस्य जसः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

17. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, ई is substituted for the nominative plural अस् ॥

Thus सर्वे (सर्व+ई), विष्वे, ये, के, ते ॥ Though सर्व+ई would have also given सर्वे, the long ई is taken for the sake of subsequent sūtras, in forming चपुणी, जतुनी ॥

औड़ आपः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औड़ः, आपः, ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ आवन्ताद्वादुत्तरस्यौड़ः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā—ओकारोऽशीविधौ डिद्गृहीतो डिक्षास्माकं नास्ति कोयं प्रकारः ।

सामान्यार्थस्तस्य चासंजनेस्मिन्दल्कार्यं ते श्यां प्रसन्नं स दोषः ॥

डिक्षे विद्याहर्षनिर्देशमात्रं वर्णं वृत्यान्तच विद्यान्तवै ।

वर्णशायं तेन डिक्षेप्यवेषो निर्देशोयं पूर्वसूत्रेण वा स्यात् ॥

18. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

Thus खद्वे तिष्ठतः, खद्वे पद्य, बहुरोज (IV. 1. 13), कारीपगन्ध्ये ॥ The ई in औड़ is for the purposes of included औड़ also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औड़ taught by Pāṇini any where. The following Kārika raises this question and certain doubts in the first verse and then answers them in the second.

Kārikā :—In this rule about शी, the letter औ has been enunciated with an indicatory ह; but we have no औ with a ह, taught anywhere. What sort of sūtra construction is this? If you say, the use of ह is to form a common term for the two affixes औ and औह, then by so doing, छिन् operations must be performed with regard to this शी of yours, and this is an error. [शी replacing छिन् औह will be considered as छिन्, and being छिन्, it will take the augment याद् by VII. 3, 113: and the form will be खद्धयि and not खद्ध] ॥

Ans :—The ह should be considered here as merely indicating the letter औ, and as not an इत्, so that whatever will apply to the letter औ will apply to any form beginning with it, by the maxim अस्मिन् विधि तदादावल् भवते ॥ Or औह may be considered as merely the letter औ and not any particular affix, and ह is added only for the sake of facility of pronunciation, like ह in नद्वारप् औ being merely a letter, will include all affixes having the letter औ as their significant part: and thus the औह not being a छिन् affix the rule VII. 3. 113, will not apply: and so there is no anomaly. Or the form औह may be considered as the affix of the dual, for Nominative and Accusative in the terminology of Ancient Grammarians, and will not produce छिन् effects, because the anubandhas of the Ancients do not produce their effects in this Grammar of Pāṇini: i.e. the rules regarding anubandhas made by Pāṇini refer to the anubandhas made by him and not by older authors.

नपुंसकाश ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकात्, च (औडः शी) ॥

हृतिः ॥ नपुंसकावङ्गादुत्तरस्य औडः शी इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयां प्रतिवेद्यो वक्तव्यः ॥

19. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ ॥

Thus कुण्डे: तिष्ठतः, कुण्ड पृथ ॥ कुण्ड+ई=कुण्डे, the अ of कुण्ड required to be elided by VI. 4. 148. This is, however, not done by the following

Vart :—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the affix शी ॥ Therefore the अ is not elided.

Similarly दधिनी, मधुनी, घपूणी, जतुनी ॥ The augment न् is added by VII. 1. 73.

जश्शसोः शिः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ जस्, शसोः, शिः, ॥

हृतिः ॥ नपुंसकावङ्गादुत्तरस्योर्जश्शसोः शी इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

20. After a neutral stem, ह is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, कुण्डानि पश्य, दधीनि, मधूनि, घपूणि, जतुनि ॥ The augment न् is by VII. 1. 72, The word शस् in the sūtra being read along with जस्

denotes the Accusative Plural ending शस् and not the Taddhita affix शस् (V. 4. 43); as कुण्डशो दृश्यति, वनशः प्रविशति ॥

अष्टाभ्यं औश् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टाभ्यः, औश्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टाभ्यं इति कृताकारोऽदृश्यते गृह्णते तस्मादुत्तरयोजदशसारौशिदयमादेशो भवति ॥

21. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् VII. 2. 84), औश् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

As अटी तिष्ठन्ति, अटौ पश्य ॥ Why have we taken the form अटा and not अट ? Observe अट तिष्ठन्ति, अट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sūtra (अष्टाभ्यः instead of अष्टनः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् is optional. This sūtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the following sūtra, by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called पद् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, is not, however, barred by this rule; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्दः ॥

The present rule applies even when अष्ट is at the end of a compound, as परमाटौ, उत्तमाटौ ॥ But in शिवादानः, औ does not come, as अष्टन् has not assumed the form अटा here i.e. it has not lost its न् ॥

षद्भ्यो लुक् ॥ २२ ॥ षद्भ्यः, लुक्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदसंज्ञकेभ्य उत्तरयोजशसोलुग्मभवति ॥

22. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called पद् (I. 1. 24).

As पद् तिष्ठन्ति, पद् पश्य, पञ्च, सप्त, नव, दश ॥ The rule applies even to compounds ending with 'shash' words: as परमपद्, उत्तमपद्, but the 'shash' should be the principal; if it is only a secondary member of the compound, the rule will not apply: as प्रियपदः, प्रियपञ्चानः ॥ For the elision of न् see VIII. 2. 7,

स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, अमोः, नपुंसकात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु अम् इत्येतयोर्नपुंसकादुत्तरयोर्लुग्मभवति ॥

23. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

As वधि तिष्ठति, वधि पश्य, मधु तिष्ठति, मधु पश्य ॥ So also जपु and जतु ॥ In तद्-आद्याणकुलम् the word तद् has lost its nom. sing. ending by this rule, which has thus superseded the subsequent rule VII. 2. 102, by anticipation, by which अ replaces the final त् of तद् ॥ Or this *luk* rule of the present sūtra is a Nitya rule compared with VII. 2. 102. How can this be a nitya rule when it is set aside by the next rule अतोऽम् ॥ We still call this rule nitya, on the maxim

यस्य च लक्षणान्तरेण निमित्तं विहन्यते न तदनितयम् “(an operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed by another (third rule), is not, (on that account regarded as) not nitya”. For here the cause which is luk-elision, is removed by the following aphorism अतोऽम् which ordains an अम् instead of *luk*, and not by VII. 2. 102. For the application of rule VII. 2. 102, the necessary condition is that a case-affix should follow तद् &c. But when the case-affix itself is *luk*-elided, the substitution taught in that sūtra cannot take place.

अतोऽम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकाशान्तात्रपुंसकादुत्तरयोः स्वमोरमित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

24. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

As कुण्डं तिष्ठति, कुण्डं पद्य ॥ So also बनम्, पीठम् ॥ Why do we not say “म् is substituted”? कुण्ड+म्=कुण्डाम्, thus there would be lengthening if only म् was taught (VII. 3. 101), while कुण्ड+अम्=कुण्डम् (the single substitution of the form of the antecedent by VI. 1. 107).

अदृढ़ डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदृढ़, डतरा दिभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ डतरादिभ्यः परयोः स्वमोरदृढ़ इत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

Kārikā अपृक्तब्रेदमो हेषां निवृत्ते डतराविषु । अदृडित्यादुत्तरादीनां न लोगे नापि शीर्षता ॥

25. अदृढ़ is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and अम् after the five Pronouns डतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. डतर, and 2. डतम्, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanāmans are read together (See I. 1. 27):—डतर, डतम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर+अदृढ़=कतरत् (the अ of *katara* elided by द्): as कतरत् तिष्ठन्ति, कतरत् पद्य ॥ So also कतमत्, इतरत्, अन्यतरत् and अन्यत् ॥ Why after these five only? Observe नेमं तिष्ठन्ति, नेमं पद्य ॥ Why do we make the affix have an indicatory द्? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular: as कतर+अत्=कतरात् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अत् being the substitute of अम् will be sthānivat, and give us कतरत् by VI. 1. 107 even without द् ॥ Why not make the affix merely त् and not अत्; it would give कतरत् &c without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple त् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरत्, The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprikta. See however VI. 1. 69.

Kārikā :—If in the sūtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛitti of the word ‘aprikta’, then there is fault with regard to अम् (i. e. the vocative of members in अम्) will not be elided, हे कुण्डम् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if

however, the anuvṛitti of aprkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरत् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरत् but हे कतर) Therefore, by reading the affix अत् with an indicator इ i. e. reading it as अद्व॑, we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अत् in कतरत् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरात्, which would have been the form had there been no इ).

नेतराच्छन्दसि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इतरात्, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरशब्दादुच्चरयोः स्वमोश्छन्दसि विषये अद्व॑व॒देशो न भवति ॥

26. In the Veda, अत् (or अद्) is not the substitute of सु and अम् Nom. and Acc. Sg. endings, after इतर ॥

As इतरमितरमण्डमजायत्; वार्वभ्रमितरम् ॥ Why in the Vedas? See इतरत् काष्ठम्, इतरत् कुञ्जम् ॥ Had this sūtra been placed immediately after अतोऽम् (VII. I. 24), we could have made it simpler by saying इतराच्छन्दसि; the present position of the sūtra indicates that we should divide it into two, to include other cases. In the case of एकतर, the अद्व॑ substitution does not take place, either in the Veda or in the Common Language. As एकतरं तिष्ठति, एकतरं पश्य ॥

युष्मदस्मद्द्यां उसो ऽश् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदस्मद्द्याम, उसः, अश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्यित्येताभ्यासुतस्य उसो ऽश्यित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

27. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम ॥ The indicator श् of अश् shows that by I. 1. 55, the *whole* of the affix अस् is to be replaced: otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix; and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII. 2. 89, would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युष्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII. 2. 96; and तव+अ (अश्), and मम+अ=तव and मम by VI. I. 97.

डे प्रथमयोरम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ डे, प्रथमयोः, अम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डे इत्यविभक्तिको निर्वेशः डे इत्येतस्य प्रथमयोऽभ विभक्तयोः प्रथमाद्वितीययोर्युष्मदस्मद्पासुचरयोरमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. अम् is substituted for the Dative ending ए and for the endings of the nom. and acc. in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The डे the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. I. 13, डेः) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद्+डे=तुभ्यद्+डे (VII. 2. 95)=तुभ्य+डे (VII. I. 102)=तुभ्य+अम् (VII. I. 28)=तुभ्यम् (VI. I. 107 or 97); similarly महम् ॥ So also युष्मद्+मु=त्वद्+मु (VII. 2. 94)=त्व+मु (VII. 2. 94)=त्व+अम् (VII. 2. 102)=त्व+अम्

(VII. 1. 28)=त्वम् (VI. 1. 97 or 107). Similarly अहम् ॥ So also युवाम् and आवाम् by VII. 2. 92 and VI. 2. 88; यूयम् and वयम् by VII. 2. 93 and VI. 1. 97 or 107, स्वाम् and माम् by VII. 2. 97 and VII. 2. 87; and युवाम् and आवाम् as before.

शसो न ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शसः, न, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्गपामुच्चरत्य शसो नकारादेशो भवति ॥

29. न् is substituted for the स् of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मान् and अस्मान् (इ elided by VII. 2. 90, and lengthening by VII. 2. 87). युष्मान् ब्राह्मणान् । अस्मान् ब्राह्मणान् । युष्मान् ब्राह्मणीः । अस्मान् ब्राह्मणीः । युष्मान् कुलानि । अस्मान्कुलानि ॥

भ्यसो भ्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्यसः, भ्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद्गपामुच्चरत्य भ्यसो भ्यमित्यमादेशो भवति: ॥

30. अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sūtra is constructed (भ्यसो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final इ of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अइ of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It will be shown hereafter that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their इ only, and by another अइ ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases: Thus we have four cases, as (1) yushma+bhyam, (2) yushm+bhyam, (3) yushma+abhyam, (4) yushm+abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma+bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma+bhyam should be equal to युष्मभ्यम् by VII. 3. 103: this ए substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गावृत्तं पुनर्वृत्तावविधि निर्विषितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm+bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma+abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udātta अ of yushma being elided by the anudātta अ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudātta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अन्तः of VI. 1. 159 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We have shown in that sūtra, that the udātta will fall on the आवि (beginning) of the anudātta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm+abhyam is free from all objections.

पञ्चम्या अत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्या, अत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या व्यतो युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्य अवित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

31. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The त् is elided by VII. 2. 95, before the case ending भ्यस्, and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97.

एकवचनस्य च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्या एकवचनस्य युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्यादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

32. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As त्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of त्व and म see VII. 2. 97; and त्व and म + अत् = त्वत् and मत् by VI. 1. 97.

साम आकम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामः आकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साम इति पष्टीबहुवचनमागतसुदृकं गृह्णते, तस्य युष्मदस्मद्भाषुत्तरस्याकमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

33. आकम् is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम् (VII. 1. 52), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix आम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स ॥ Thus युष्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम् and not आम्, when there is no स् at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकम् will not get the augment स्, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, end in आ, and so by VII. 1. 52, would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स्; the present sūtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकम्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. If you say 'the very fact that आकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rūpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of आकम् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कम् = युष्मेकम् (VII. 3. 103).

आत् औं णलः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, औं, णलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तादक्षादुत्तरस्य णल औंकारादेशो भवति ॥

34. औं is substituted for णल्, the affix of the first and third person singular of the perfect, after roots ending in long आ ॥

Thus पौं, तस्यौ, जग्नौ, मम्लौ, from पा, स्था, ग्नै (ग्ला) and म्लै (म्ला) ॥ The form पौं is thus evolved, पा + णल् = पा + अ ॥ Here three operations simultaneously present themselves for application, namely; 1. Reduplication, 2. Leng-

thening; by the single substitution of one long vowel आ, for आ + अ; and 3. The substitution of औ for आ by the present sūtra. In what order should these operations be then performed? First the affix अ should be replaced by औ. then the single substitution of औ for आ + अ; and then treating it as sthānivat, and then reduplication. For if the single substitution of आ for आ + अ had taken place first, then there would be no scope for औ substitution, therefore the औ substitution, should take place first. Thus we have पा + औ = पौ; this vṛiddhi-ekādeśa, is treated as sthānivat by I. I. 59, and it causes reduplication. The vṛiddhi-ekādeśa should first take place (i.e. आ + औ = औ) and then the reduplication, because the former rule is subsequent to the latter.

तुष्योस्तातङ्गशिष्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, द्योः, तातङ्ग, आशिषि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृनिः ॥ तु हि इयेतयोराशिषि विषये तातङ्गादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

35. तातङ्ग is optionally substituted for the affixes तु and हि of the Imperative, when benediction is meant.

As जीवताद् भवान्, जीवतात् त्वम्, जीवतु भवान्, जीव त्वम् ॥ The ङ् prevents Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, (I. I. 4), and the substitute replaces the whole affix (I. I. 53 notwithstanding). The substitute is not sthānivat पित्, though it replaces a पित् affix, because it has its own indicatory letter ङ्, and डित् does not become पित्; and consequently in ब्रतात् ई is not added to the affix, by VII. 3. 93, ई being added only to पित् affixes after ङ् ॥ When not denoting benediction, we have not this substitution: as आमं गच्छतु भवान् or गच्छ आमम् ॥

The affix तातङ्ग being a substitute of हि, is like हि, and, therefore, rules propounded with regard to हि, will apply to तातङ्ग also. Thus VI. 4. 105 says that after stems ending in short अ, the हि is elided: therefore, after such words तातङ्ग should also be elided. Therefore we cannot get the form जीवतात् त्वम् for जीवत्वम् ॥ This objection, however, is futile; for, in the sūtra अतो हे (VI. 4. 105), there is the anuvṛitti of हि from sūtra VI. 4. 101 (हु द्वात्ययो हे र्थः) ॥ So that अतो हे should be construed as meaning "there is the elision of हि when it is of the form हि, and not when it assumes the form तातङ्ग" ॥

The object of ङ् in तातङ्ग is, as we have said above, for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi. It should not be said that the object of ङ् in तातङ्ग is for the sake of अन्यविधिः by the application of sūtra डिच्छ (I. I. 53), just as the substitutes अनङ्ग &c (VII. I. 93 and 94) apply to the finals. For by so doing, तातङ्ग would replace only the ङ् of तु and the ङ् of हि, which is not desired. And the case of तातङ्ग is to be distinguished from अनङ्ग, for in अनङ्ग the ङ् has no other object but to prevent sarvādeśa; but in तातङ्ग we see that ङ् has another object, namely, the prevention of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi; and ङ् having thus found scope, the तातङ्ग substitute will be governed by the general rule अनेकाङ् शित् सर्वस्य (I. I. 55).

The Kārikā given below raises these points.

Kārikā :—तातङ्गे दित्त्वं संकमकृत्यादन्त्यविधिश्चेत्तद तथा न ।

हेरधिकोरे हेरधिकारो लोपविधौ तु ज्ञापकमाह ॥

तातङ्गे दित्त्वसामधर्यात्रायमन्त्यविधिः स्मृतः ।

न तद्वनडादीनां तेन ते अन्त्यविकारजाः ॥

Kārikā :—In तातङ्ग the ङ् is for the sake of preventing Guṇa and Vṛiddhi (संक्रम = गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः) ॥ If it be said, it is for the sake of अन्त्यविधि by I. 1. 53; we say it is not so. (If you say that after roots ending in short अ, तात् should be elided, by VI. 4. 105 read with I. 1. 56, we reply): when the anuvṛtti or adhikāra of हि was already existent in the sūtra VI. 4. 105 from sūtra VI. 4. 101, the express employment of हि in VI. 4. 105, indicates that the lopa rule does not apply to तातङ्ग ॥ (The lopa-rule not applying to तातङ्ग, it follows that it replaces the *whole* of हि and not only its final). The ङ् in तातङ्ग finds its scope in preventing Guṇa and Vriddhi, therefore, it is not for the sake of antyavidhi (I. 1. 53). The दित्त्व in अनङ्ग &c has no other scope, therefore, these substitutes replace the final only.

विदेः शतुर्बसुः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदेः, शतुः, वसुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञानश्वेतसामादातोहनस्य शतुर्बसुरादेशो भवति ॥

36. वसु is substituted for the Present Participle affix शतु after the root विद् 'to know'.

Thus विद्वस् (n. s. विद्वान्), विद्वांसौ, विद्वांसः ॥ The words formed with affixes having an indicatory उ or ए (उगत्) add a न् in their strong cases (VII. 1. 70), and form their feminine with unaccented ई ॥ शतु is an affix having an indicatory ए, therefore its substitute would also be considered as having an indicatory ए, the उ of वसु therefore is not absolutely necessary for the purposes of उगत् operations. वसु is so written, in order that in the sūtra वसो उप्रसारणं (VI. 4. 131.), both कृसु and वसु should be included. Nor can we object that in the above mentioned sūtra, वसु with one indicatory letter being taken, cannot include an affix like कृसु having two indicatory letters,—on the maxim एकात्मुबन्धकप्रहणे न द्वयुबन्धकस्य—for if that were so, there was no necessity of उ in वसु ॥ Some read the anuvṛtti of the word optionally into this: and we have विद्वन्, विद्वतौ, विद्वन्तः formed with शतु (see V. 4. 38).

समासे अनभ्यूर्वे कृपे ल्यप् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अनभ्, पूर्वे, कृः ल्यप् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समासे अनभ्यूर्वे कृत्वा इत्येतस्य ल्यविद्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

37. In a compound, the first member of which is an Indeclinable but not नभ्; ल्यप् is substituted for कृत्वा ॥

Thus प्रकृत्य, प्रदृत्य ॥ The tvā is added by III. 4. 21, the compounding is by II. 2. 18, and तुक् by VI. 1. 71. पार्थतःकृत्य, The tvā is added by III. 4. 61. and compounding is by II. 2. 22. नानाकृत्य; हिधाकृत्य The tvā is added by III. 4. 62. Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe कृत्वा हृत्वा. Here the counter exam-

ple is कृत्वा, which is preceded by an Indeclinable कृत्वा, but as it is not compounded, there is no substitution. Why do we say 'not preceded by नभ्र'? Observe अकृत्वा, अहृत्वा, परमकृत्वा, उच्चमकृत्वा ॥ The word अनभ्र means 'other than नभ्र', and means words of the same class as नभ्र, i. e. Indeclinables : and does not mean words which are not Indeclinables. The compounds like स्नात्वाकालक contained in the class of मधुरव्यसंक &c (II. 1. 72.), do not take त्यप् anomalously. Or the word समासे is in the Locative with the force of specification : and means those compounds which are specifically formed with त्वा and not any compound in general.

Now by the rule I. 1. 72, ktvā would denote a form ending with ktvā; and would include the case of a compound ending in ktvā. But this general rule is modified by the maxim प्रत्यय भ्रणे वस्मात् स विहित स्तवादेस्तदन्तस्य भ्रणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." But the affix ktvā is never ordained after a compound. Therefore, the case of compounds ending in ktvā, would not be covered by the mere employment of ktvā. Then comes the maxim कृत् ग्रहणे गति कारक पूर्वस्थापि ग्रहणं 'a kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has been added and which ends with the kṛit affix, but moreover should a gati, or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it.' By this a compound also may end in ktvā. This maxim will cover cases like प्रकृत्य, पार्वतः कृत्य but not उच्चः कृत्य &c because उच्चः is neither a gati nor a kāraka. Hence the employment of the word समासे in the sūtra, and also of the word अनभ्रपूर्वे, for नभ्र is neither a Gati nor a Kāraka.

In the case of प्रधाय and प्रस्थाय this maxim applies:—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो त्यप् बाधते "a Bahiranga substitution of त्यप् supersedes even antaranga rule". What are these antaranga rules superseded by the substitute त्यप्? (1) हित्वं—*the substitution of हि for था* (VII. 4. 42). Thus हित्वा but प्रधाय and not प्रहित्वा ॥ (2) इत्वं—*the substitution of इ for वो* (VII. 4. 46)—as इत्वा, but प्रधाय and not प्रदित्वा ॥ (3) आत्वं as required by VI. 4. 42: as खात्वा, प्रखाय and प्रखन्य ॥ (4) इत्वं—*as स्थित्वा but प्रस्थाय* ॥ (5) ईत्वं by VI. 4. 66, as पीत्वा but प्रपाय ॥ (6) शीघ्रत्वं by VI. 4. 15, as शान्त्वा but प्रशम्य ॥ (7) शुद्ध by VI. 4. 19, as पृष्ठा but ज्ञापृच्छय ॥ (8) कृद्—*as द्यूत्वा* ॥ (9) इद् (VII. 2. 56)—ज्ञेत्वा but प्रदीप्य ॥

कृपि छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृता, अपि, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासे अनभ्रपूर्वे कृत्वा इत्येतस्य कृत्वा इत्यथादेशो भवति अपिशब्दात्त्वयत्पि भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

38. In the Veda the कृत्वा also, as well as त्यप्, is substituted for त्वा, after an Indeclinable compound, other than one preceded by the Negative तन् ॥

Thus कृष्णं वासो यजमानं परिधापयित्वा, प्रत्यञ्चर्मकं प्रत्यर्थयित्वा ॥ So also we have ल्यप्, as उच्छृत्य जुहोति ॥ The sūtra could have been made shorter by saying merely वा छन्दसि; not doing so indicates that conditions and limitations are set aside in the Vedas in applying this affix. Therefore ल्यप् is applied even when there is no compound, as, अर्च्य तान् वेवान् गतः ॥ The word छन्दसि governs the following sūtras upto VII. i. 50, inclusive.

सुपां सुलुक्ष्मूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपाम्, सु, लुक्, पूर्वसवर्ण, आ, आत्, शे, या, डा, इया, याच्, आलः ॥
बृन्तिः ॥ छान्दसि विषये सुपां स्थाने शु लुक् पूर्वसवर्ण आ आत् शे या डाड्या याच् आल इत्येते भादेशा भग्नन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुपां सुपो भवन्ति इति वन्नत्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिडां तिडो भवन्तीति वन्नत्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयाडिया जोकाराणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आड्याजयाराष्ट्रपसंख्यानम् ॥

39. The following irregular endings are substituted for the various case endings in the Veda : (1) स् of the Nom. Sg. for अस् of the Plural, (2) the *luk*-elision of the case-endings, (3) the single substitution of the homogeneous long vowel for the end vowel of the stem, (4) आ, (5) आत्, (6) ए (शे) for the ending of the Nom. Plural, (7) या, (8) आ (डा), with the elision of the last vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it in the stem, (9) या (र्या) with the similar shortening of the stem (10) यौ (याच्) and आ (accent of ल) ॥

Thus (1) अनृक्षरा अज्जवः सन्तु पन्याः (for पन्यानः) Rig Veda X. 85. 23.

Vārt—It should be stated that case-endings replace case-endings promiscuously, as, शुरि इक्षिणायाः (for इक्षिणायाम् Rig I. 164. 9).

Vārt—One personal ending replaces another personal ending in the Vedas चयालं वै अश्वसूपाय तक्षति (for तक्षन्ति) Rig I. 162. 6.

(2) लुक्-elision :—As बाह्रे चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् for चर्मणि ; हविर्भाने यत् सुन्वन्ति, तत् समिधेनोर्म्बाह (यद् for यस्मिन् and तद् for तस्मिन्) ॥

(3) Lengthening :—धीती, मती, शुद्धती for धीत्या, मत्या and शुद्धत्या ॥

(4) आ—उभा यत्तारौ (for उत्तौ) ॥

(5) आत्—न ताद् ब्राह्मणाद् निन्दामि for तान् ब्राह्मणान् ॥

(6) शे—न शुष्मे (for शूष्मम्) वाजवन्धवः, Rig VIII. 68. 19. अस्मे (for वयं) इन्द्राङ्-हस्पति ; Rig IV. 49. 4, the शूय and वय substitution has not taken place as a Vedic usage.

(7) या—उरुया, धृष्णुया for उरुणा and धृष्णुणा ॥

(8) डा—नाभा (for नाभौ) पृथिव्याः Rig I. 143. 4

(9) र्या—अनुष्ठाच्यावयतान् for अनुष्ठुभा Ait Br. II. 6. 15.

(10) याच्—साशुर्यौ for साशु, there was required the elision of शु ॥

(ii) आद्—वसैन्ता यजेत् for वसन्ते ॥

Vart—The following substitutes should also be enumerated, (a) इया, (b) दियाच् with elision of the final vowel and the consonant, if any, that follows it, and (c) long ई ॥ As (a) उर्विया परिधानम्, for उहणा, so also शर्विया for शहणा ॥ (b) सुक्षेत्रिया for सुक्षेत्रिणा, and सुग्राहिया for सुग्राहिणा ॥ (c) इति न शुष्कं सरसी शायानम् for सरसि ॥

Vart—So also (a) आह्, (b) अयाच् and (c) अयार्: as प्रबाहवा for प्रबाहुना, (b) स्वमर्यो सच्च सेवनम् for स्वप्रेन, (c) सिंशुमित्र नावैया for नावा ॥

The word आच्छे in the sūtra is compounded of three words आ + आत् + शे, the word आत् = आ + आत् ॥

अमो मश् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमः, मश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम् इति मिवादेशो गृह्णते । तस्य छन्दसि विषये मशादेशो भवति ॥

40. For the Personal ending अम् of the First Person Singular (in the Aorist) म् (I. 1. 55) is substituted in the Veda.

The अम् here is the substitution of मिष्, and not the accusative singular affix. As वर्धी वृचम् (for अवविषम्) Rig I. 165. 8: क्रमीष वृक्षस्य शाखाम् ॥ The अद् augment is diversely elided (VI. 4. 75). The indicatory श् of मश् shows that the whole of the affix अम् is to be replaced. The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the change of श् into anusvāra as in VIII. 3. 25.

लोपस्त आत्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, त, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु यस्तकारस्तस्य छन्दसि विषये लोपो भवति ॥

41. In the Veda the त of the Atmanepada Personal ending is elided.

As देवा अदुह and गन्धर्वा अप्सरसो अदुह for अदुहत् (see VII. I. 8); दुहाम् (for दुर्धाम्) अभिध्यां पयो अव्यन्वेषम् ॥ Rig I. 164. 27. सक्षिजतः हये for हेते ॥ Owing to the anuvṛitti of अवि from VII. I. 38, this substitution sometimes does not take place; as: आत्मानमनुतंकुरुते ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe वसं दुहन्ति कलशं चतुर्बिलम् ॥

ध्वमो ध्वात् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वमः, ध्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ध्वमो ध्वादित्यवादेशो भवति ॥

42. In the Veda, ध्वाद् is substituted for the Personal ending ध्वम् ॥

As अन्तर्दोष्माणं वारथध्वात् for वारथध्वम् ॥ Ait Br. II. 6. 14.

यज्ञध्वैनमिति च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञध्वैनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञध्वमित्येतस्य एनमित्येतस्मिन्परतो मकारलोपो निपात्यते वकारस्य च यकारः छन्दसि विषये ॥

43. यज्ञध्वैनम् is irregularly formed in the Veda for यज्ञध्वमेनम् ॥

The word यज्ञध्वम् followed by एनम् loses its final म् in the Veda. As यज्ञध्वैनं प्रियमेधाः (Rig VIII. 2. 37). The Kasika adds "that च is also irregularly

changed into व॒ः : the form would then be व॒ज्ञ॑वैनम् ॥ This is, however, a mistake as pointed out by Bhattoji Dikshit.

तस्य तात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तशब्दस्य लोभ्यमपुरुषबहुवचनस्य स्थाने तादित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. For the ending त of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative is substituted तात् in the Veda.

As गांवं गात्रमस्या दूनं कृषुतात् (for कृषुत), and ऊवध्ये गोहं पार्यिवं खमतात् (for खगत) Ait Br. II. 6. 15, 16. अस्मारक्ष संसृजतात् (= संसृजत), सूर्ये चक्षुगमयतात् (= गमयत). तत्तनस्तनयनाश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तप्, तनप्, तन, थनाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति वर्त्तते । छन्दसि विषये तस्य स्थाने तप् तनप् तन यन इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

45. Also तु and तुन् (before both, on account of the indicatory प् the preceding vowel of the verbal stem is strengthened, or if weak not shortened), तन and थन are substituted for the त of the 2nd Pers. Pl. Imperative in the Veda.

This शृणोत पावाणः (for शृणुत), शुनोत (= शुनुत), संवरचा इधातन (for धन), शुञ्जु-टन (for शुञ्जत) the ślu vikaraṇa being added as a Vedic irregularity ; यदिष्टन for यदिच्छत ॥ The indicatory प् makes तप् and तनप् non-ङित् affixes (I. 2. 4).

इदन्तो मसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदन्तः, मसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये मसित्यवं शब्द इकारान्तो भवति । मसः सकारान्तस्य इकारागमो भवति स च तस्यान्तो भवति ॥

46. The Personal ending मस् becomes in the Veda मसि ending with an इ ॥

Thus उनस्त्वा॒ शीप्यामसि (for शीप्यामः) शलभं भञ्जयामसि (for भञ्जयामः), त्वयि रात्रि॒ वासयामसि for वासयामः ॥

क्लोयक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लः, यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्वा॒ इत्येतस्य यगागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

47. In the Veda, the Absolutive affix क्ला gets at the end, the augment य ॥

Thus दत्वा॒ सविता॒ धियः (for दत्वा). This sūtra is not read immediately after VII. I. 38, as in that sūtra, the anuvṛitti of samāsa is understood, while there is no such anuvṛitti here.

इष्टीनमिति च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टीनम्, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टीनमित्यवं शब्दो निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये । यजेः॑ व॒त्वा॒ प्रत्ययान्तस्य॑ ईनमो॒ दशो॒ न्तस्य॑ निपात्यते ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ पीत्वीनमित्यपीत्यते ॥

48. In the Veda, the Absolutive इष्टीनम् is irregularly formed for इष्टा॒ ॥

To the root य॒श् is added क्ला, and the final अ is replaced by ईनम् ॥ As इष्टीनम् देवान् for इष्टा॒ देवान् ॥ The च in the sūtra indicates that there are other forms like this, as पीत्वानम् for पीत्वा॒ ॥

स्नात्व्यादयश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नात्वी-आदयः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्नात्वी इत्येवमादयः शब्दा निपादन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

49. स्नात्वी &c. are irregularly formed in the Veda.

Thus स्नात्वी मलादिव, for स्नात्वा ; पीत्वी सोमस्य वावृषे for पीत्वा ॥ The word आदि 'et cetera' means "of the form of", namely words having form like स्नात्वी, as पीत्वी &c.

आज्जसेरसुक् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, जसेः, असुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवणन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य जसेरसुगागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. After a stem ending in अ or आ, the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl. gets, in the Veda, the augment असु (असुक्) at the end.

Thus ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः for ब्राह्मणः and सोम्याः ॥ Rig VI. 75. 10. ये पूर्वासो य उपरासः (Rig X. 15. 2) for पूर्वे and उपरे ॥ So also पुत्रासः (R. I. 3. 4) Why is not, after the adding of the augment असुक्, the जस् changed to शी in the last example, as required by VII. 1. 17, and on the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गः विज्ञानात् ? No, the maxim that applies here is सकृद गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं, तद्वाधितमेव ॥

अदृश्वक्षीरवृथलवणानामात्मप्रीतौ क्यचित् ॥ ५१ ॥ अदृश्व, क्षीर, वृथ, लवणानाम्, आत्मा प्रीतौ, क्यचित् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीत्यतः प्रभृति निवृत्तम् । अदृश्व क्षीर वृथ लवण इत्येतेषामङ्गानामात्मप्रीतिविषये क्यचित् परतो उद्गुगागमो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अश्ववृथयोर्मैयुनच्छायामिति वन्त्यन्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्षीरलवणयोर्लक्षिसायामिति वन्त्यन्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सर्वप्रातिषदिकोऽयो लालासायामसुखवन्त्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सुखवन्त्यः ॥

51. The same augment असुक् is added after the words अश्व, क्षीर, वृथ and लवण before the Denominative affix क्यच्, when the delight of the subject in these things is to be expressed.

The anuvṛitti of छन्दसि does not extend to this sūtra or any further. Thus अश्वस्यति वडबा, क्षीरस्यति माणवकः, वृपस्याति गौः, लवणस्यत्युद्गः ॥ अश्व + असु + य + ति = अश्वस्यति (VI. 1. 97). Why 'when the delight of the subject is meant'? Observe अश्वीयति, क्षीरीयति, वृथीयति and लवणीयति ॥

Vārt :—After अश्व and वृथ, the force of the augment is that of desiring sexual connection. *Vārt* :—After क्षीर and लवण it has the force of ardently wishing for, i. e. an intense thirsting after the thing. The augment is not added, though the sense may be that of delight, if it has not the above meanings. Others say *Vārt* :—असुक् should be added after every nominal stem when the sense is that of intense yearning after that thing : as इध्यस्यति, मध्यस्यति &c. Others say *Vārt* :—That the augment सुक् should be added, as इधि-स्यति, मधुस्यति &c.

आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुद् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमि, सर्वनाम्नः, सुद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आविति वर्तते अवर्णात्सर्वनाम उत्तरस्यामः सुदागमो भवति ॥

52. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix आम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स् at the beginning.

The word आत् of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेषाम्, विश्वेषाम्, येषाम्, तेषाम्, सर्वसाम्, यासाम्, तासाम् ॥ But भवताम् of भवत् ॥ The आम् of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116; for that आम् takes the augments याद्, आद् or स्याद् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present आम् takes सुद् or तुर् ॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III. I. 35 &c), because that refers to verb and Sarvanāma nor the आम् of V. 4. 11, for the same reason. The word आमि is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वनामः सुद्), because सर्वनामः being in the Ablative case, the augment सुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

त्रेण्यः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, चयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिइत्येतस्य आमि परे चय इत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

53. चय is substituted for त्रि before the Genitive Pl. affix.

As चयाम् ॥ त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda: as त्रीणामपि समुद्राणाम् ॥

हस्वनद्यापो तुर् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्व, न दी, आपः, तुर् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्वान्तान्त्रयन्तावावन्ताद्योत्तरस्यामो तुडागमो भवति ॥

54. The augment त् is added before the Genitive Pl. ending आम्, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called Nadi (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix आ ॥

As वृक्षाणाम्, प्लक्षानाम्, अग्नीणाम्, वायूनाम्, कर्तणाम् ॥ नयन्तात्:—कुमारीणाम्, किशोरीणाम्, गौरीणाम्, शार्ङ्गरवीणाम्, लक्ष्मीणाम्, ब्रह्मबन्धूनाम्, वीरवन्धूनाम् ॥ आवन्तात्:—खड्डानाम्, मालानाम्, बहुराजानाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यानाम् ॥

The lengthening of the short final vowel takes place by VI. 4. 3.

पट्चतुर्भ्यश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पट्, चतुर्भ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पट्संज्ञकेऽध्यतुर्भ्यशशद्वाद्याद्योत्तरस्यामो तुडागमो भवति ॥

55. The augment त् is added before the Genitive pl. ending आम् after the Numerals called 'shash', and after चतुर् ॥

As पट्णाम्, पञ्चानाम्, (VI. 4. 7), सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, दशानाम्, चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in र् is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमपञ्चाम्, परमपञ्चानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but प्रियपञ्चाम्, प्रियपञ्चानाम्, प्रियचतुराम् where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

श्रीग्रामणयोऽङ्गन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, ग्रामण्योः, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श्री ग्रामणी इत्येतयोऽङ्गन्दसि विषये आमो तुडागमो भवति ॥

56. In the Veda after the words श्री and ग्रामणी, the Gen. Pl. आम् gets the augment न् ॥

As श्रीजामुदारो धर्मो रथीजाम्, अन्यव सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥ This sūtra could be well dispensed with: by I. 4. 5. श्री is optionally a Nadi in the Genitive plural. We make the option of that sūtra a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, by saying श्री is *always* Nadi in the Veda, and *optionally* every where else. As regards सूतग्रामणीनाम्, we have सूतश्च ग्रामणीश्च = सूतग्रामणि, the Genitive Pl. of which by VII. I. 54 will be सूतग्रामणीनाम् ॥

The necessity of this sūtra will, however, arise if the compound be सूताम् ते ग्रामण्यम् सूतग्रामण्यः ॥

गोः पादान्ते ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, पादान्ते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गो इत्येतसाहकपादान्ते वर्त्मानादुत्तरस्यामो तुडागमो भवति ॥

57. After गो, when standing at the end of a Rik verse, the augment न comes before the Gen. Pl. आम् ॥

As विद्याहि त्वा सत्पति शूरपोनाम्; but गवां गोवद्विद्वाजा वद्विद्वारः in the beginning of a Pāda. "All rules have exceptions in the Vedas" is an established maxim, so at the end of a Pāda, sometimes this rule does not apply, as हन्तरं शब्दाणां कृधि विराजं गोपति गवाम् ॥

इदितो नुम् धातोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदितः, नुम्, धातोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इदितो धातोर्तुमागमो भवति ॥

58. न् is added after the vowel of the root, in a root which has an indicatory इ in the Dhātupātha.

Thus from कुडि—कुण्डन्, कुण्डदुम्, कुण्डतव्यम्; from हुडि—हुण्डन्, हुण्डदुम्, हुण्डतव्यम् &c. But पचति, पठति where इ is not इत् ॥ The न् is added to the root from its very inception, and they must be considered to have got a न्, for the purposes of the application of the grammatical rules. Thus III. 3. 103 says that आ is added in the feminine to a root which ends in a consonant and has a prosodically long vowel. The root कुडि must be considered to be such a root and कुण्डा, हुण्डा are thus formed. Similarly though the roots in the Dhātupātha are धिवि and कृवि, in applying affixes we must consider them as धिन्व् and कृन्व्, as the author himself has indicated in III. 1. 80. In short, in adding affixes, these roots should be considered as having a न् ॥ Moreover the root (*dhātu*) should have इ, and not the *stem* (*aṅga*). The affixes तासि (Future) and सिन्च् (Aorist) when added to roots, will not make those roots

इदित्; for the इ in तासि and सिच् is merely for the sake of pronunciation, and is not to be considered as इत् in the strict sense of the word: in fact it should be considered as non-nasalised. If you say that "the इ in सिच् should be considered as इत्, for because of its being इत्, the न् of मन् is not elided by VI. 4. 24 in अमंस्ता", we reply, "not so, the न् is not elided, because sūtra हन्; सिच् I. 2. 14 makes सिच् a कित् after हन् only, the result of which is that हन् only loses its न् by VI. 4. 37, and no other root". In मन्ता = मन् + तासि + आ = मन् + न् + आ (the आस् is elided VI. 4. 143). For the purposes of the elision of न्, the elided आस् would be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22), for both VI. 4. 143, and VI. 4. 37, requiring the elision of न् are अभिया sūtras. In भेत्ता, छेत्ता from भित् and छित्, the whole combination हर् is इत्, and not इ and र् separately, and hence तुम् is not added. But even if these roots be considered as इदित्, the syllable हर् having an इ, yet they will not get the तुम् augment, because the word अन् of पादान्ते (VII. 1. 57) is understood here in this sūtra also, so that the roots must have a final इ as इत् for the application of this rule.

शो मुचादीनाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शो, मुचादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शो प्रत्यये परतो शुचादीनां तुमागामो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शोतुम्काशीनामुपसंख्यानंकर्तव्यम् ॥

59. In मुच् &c, before the characteristic श of the Tudādi class, the न् is placed after the vowel of the root.

Thus मुच्छत्—मुञ्चति, लुम्पति, विन्वति, लिम्पति, सिञ्चति, कून्तति, खिन्वति, पिंशति ॥ Why "before श"? Observe मौक्ता, मौक्तुम्, मौक्तव्यम् ॥ Why "of मुच् &c"? Observe तुदिति, तुदति ॥

Vārti:—The तृष्ण &c should be also enumerated. These are the following roots of Tudādi class: 24. तृप् (तृफ), 25. तृन्क तृपौ, 26. तृप् तृम्, 27. तृफ तृम्फ, हिसायाम्, 28. दृफ् (दृप), 29. दृष्ण दृक्लेष्ये, 30. दृक्फ (रिफ), दृम्फ (रिम्फ), हिसायाम्, 31. शुफ्, शुम्फ यन्ये, 32. उम् उम्म पूर्णे, 33. शुभ्, शुम्भ शोभाये ॥ Of these, those which have a nasal, lose it by VI. 4. 24, and then get the तुम् augment by the present rule, which being specifically ordained, cannot be again dropped. Thus तृम्फति, तृम्फति, तृम्फति शुफति, शुम्फति &c. Those which have no nasal, are conjugated as दृफति, दृम्फति शुफति, उमति and शुभति ॥

मस्तिनशोर्झलि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्ति, नशोः, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्ति नशो इत्येत्योर्ज्ञयोर्ज्ञालालौ प्रत्यये तुमागामो भवति ॥

60. The augment तुम् is added after the vowel of the root in मस्त् and नश, before an affix, beginning with any consonant, other than a semi-vowel or a nasal.

As मज्जना, मस्त् + मुच् (no इट् by VII. 2. 10), add न्=मस् न् ज्+ह्, elide श by VIII. 2. 29, change ज् to क्, and न् to anusvāra, which then becomes ह् ॥ महत्तुम्, मड्जन्नव्यम्, नंष्टा, नंटुम् and नंटव्यम् ॥ But मज्जनम् and नशिता, and मग् (VI. 4. 32). In मगः and मगवान्, the तुम् is supposed to be placed the last consonant in मस्त्, in order that it may get elided.

रथिज्जभोरत्ति ॥ ६१ ॥ रथि, जभोः, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रथि जभि इत्येतयोरजावौ प्रत्यये तुमागमो भवति ॥

61. The augment तुम् is added after the root-vowel in रथ् and जभ्, before affixes beginning with a consonant.

Thus रन्धयति, रन्धकः, साधुरन्धी, रन्धो वर्तते ॥ जम्भयति, जम्भकः, साधुजम्भी, जम्भ-जम्भम्, जम्भो वर्तते ॥ Though the वृद्धि rule is subsequent, it is superseded by the augment. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe रथा, जम्भम् ॥

नेत्र्यलिदि रथेः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि, अ लिदि, रथेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इडाशावलिदि प्रत्यये परे रथेर्तुमागमो न भवति ॥

62. The augment तुम् is not added to रथ्, before an affix beginning with the augment इट्, except in the Perfect.

As रथिता, रथितुम्, रथितन्धम्, but रन्धनम्, रन्धकः before Anit affixes, and रन्धित, रन्धितम् in the Perfect. When तुम् is added रन्ध becomes a root ending in a conjunct consonant, and therefore the लिदि affixes after it are not कित् (असंयोगात् लिद कित् I. 2. 5), and therefore the न् is not elided by VI. 4. 24. But when the affix क्वस् of the Perfect is added, we have रेधिवस् Nom. Sg. रेधिवान् ॥ Here the affix being expressly taught with an indicatory क् the न् is elided. The reduplicate is elided, the ज् changed into ए, then इट् is added, then तुम्, and then the तुम् is elided by the expressly taught कित् ॥

Why was not the sūtra made as इटि लिदि रथेः when by so doing, the augment तुम् would have been added only in the Perfect when it had इट् and no where else? This form of sūtra would have also meant that तुम् would be added in that Perfect which took इट् and in no other Perfect, while cases other than Perfect might take it. That being so, there would be no तुम् in रन्ध, while रथिता would require तुम् ॥ See, however, the Mahabhāshya for the *contra*.

रभेरशब्दिलिटोः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रभेः, अ शप्, लिटोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रभेरहस्य शब्दलिङ्गिते ऽनावौ प्रत्यये परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥

63. The augment तुम् is added after the vowel of the root रभ् before an affix beginning with a vowel, but not before the vikarana शप् or the affixes of the Perfect.

Thus आरम्भयति, आरम्भकः, साध्वारम्भी, आरम्भमारम्भम्, आरम्भो वर्तते ॥ But आर-भते in शप्, and आरभे in लिटि, and आरधा before an affix beginning with a consonant.

लभेश्व ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लभेः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लभेश्वाजावौ प्रत्यये शब्दलिङ्गिते तुमागमो भवति ॥

64. So also of लभ्, before an affix beginning with a vowel, with the exception of शप् and लिट्, there is the augment तुम् ॥

As लभयति, लभकः, साधुलभ्मी, लम्भलम्भम्, लभो वर्तते ॥ But लभते with शप्, and लेते in the Perfect, and लभा before an affix beginning with a consonant. The separation of this from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

आडो यि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आडः, यि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडु उत्तरस्य लभेर्यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये तुमागमो भवति ॥

65. The augment तुम् is added to लभ् preceded by आ, before an affix beginning with य ॥

As आलम्भ्यो गौः ॥ The तुम् is added before the addition of the affix, and by so doing लभ् becomes लम्भ् and thus loses its character of having a penultimate अ, and therefore by III. i. 124, we shall have यत् affix, and not यत् affix by III. i. 98. Had the तुम् been added *after* the addition of the affix, then यत् would be added by III. i. 98. Though in both cases the form will be आलम्भ्या, the difference will be in the accent: यत् would throw the acute on the first syllable (यतोऽनावः) while the word has svarita on the final; thus instead of आलम्भ्या (by VI. i. 213 and VI. 2. 139), which यत् gives, we have आलम्भ्या (तित् svar).

Why do we say 'when preceded by आ'? Observe लभ्य ॥ How do you explain अप्रिट्टेन आलम्यः? All rules are optionally applied in the Vedas. Or आलम्य may be explained by saying that the तुम् having been added, is again dropped.

उपात्प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रशंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरस्य लभेः प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायां यकारादिप्रत्ययविषये तुमागमो भवति ॥

66. The augment तुम् is added to लभ् preceded by उप, before य, when the reference is to something praiseworthy.

As उपलम्भ्या भवता विद्या, उपलम्भ्यानि धनानि ॥ These words are formed by यत् and have svarita on the final. Why do we say 'when referring to something praiseworthy'? Observe उपलम्भस्माद् वृषलात् किंचित्, this is formed with the यत् affix (III. i. 98).

उपसर्गात्खलघजोः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, खल्, घजोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुत्तरस्य लभेः खलघजोः परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥

67. The augment तुम् is added to लभ् preceded by a Preposition, before the affixes खल् (III. 3. 126) and घञ् ॥

Thus ईष्टप्रलभ्मः, सुप्रलभ्मः, दुष्प्रलभ्मः, प्रलभ्मः, विप्रलभ्मः ॥ This is a Niyama rule, and restricts the scope of VII. I. 64. Before the vowel affixes खल् and घर्, the root लभ् gets the augment तुम् only then when it is preceded by a Preposition, and not otherwise, as ईष्टलभ्मः, लाभो वर्तते ॥

न सुदुर्भयां केवलाभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सु, दुर्भयाम्, केवलाभ्याम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ सु दुरित्येताभ्यां केवलाभ्यामन्योपसर्गरहिताभ्यासुप्रसृत्य लभेःखलघरोः परतो तुमागमो न भवति ॥

68. The augment तुम् is not added to लभ् before खल् and घर् when सु or दुः alone (without another Preposition along with them) precede the root.

Thus सुलभ्म्, दुर्लभ्म्, सुलभो, दुर्लभः ॥ But सुप्रलभ्मः, दुष्प्रलभ्मः ॥ The word केवल is used in the sūtra because सुदुर्भया is in the Instrumental case and not in the Ablative. Had it been in the Ablative, there would have been no necessity of using the word केवल, for the rule would not have applied, when a preposition intervened between these and the root. In अतिसुलभ्म्, the word अति is not an Upasarga but a Karmapravachaniya; when अति is used as an Upasarga, we have अतिशुलभ्मः ॥ If the words सुदुर्भयाम् be construed as Ablative, then also the use of केवल is for a purpose similar to that as above.

विभाषा चिण्ठमुलोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि भाषा, चिण्, णमुलोः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ चिण् णमुल् इवेत्यत्योर्धिभाषा लभेऽनुमवति ॥

69. The तुम् is optionally added to लभ् not preceded by a Preposition, before the चिण् Aorist and the Absolutive णमुल् ॥

Thus अलभ्म or अलभ्म, लभेलाभ्म or लभ्मेलभ्म् ॥ This is a Vyavasthitavibhāshā, the option is allowed where there is no Preposition along with the root; and no option is allowed but तुम् must be added, when a Preposition precedes: as प्रालभ्म, प्रलभ्म् ॥

उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थाने धातोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ उगित्, अ चाम्, सर्वनामस्थाने, अ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितामक्षानां धातुर्जितानामज्ञतेभ सर्वनामस्थाने परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥

70. Whatever has an indicatory उ, औ and ल, (with the exception of a root), and the stem अच्, (अञ्चति) get the augment तुम् in the strong cases.

Thus भवतु has an indicatory उ, formed by the Uṇādi affix उवत्तुप्, and it is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः ॥ Similarly ईशुन्—श्रेयान्, श्रेयांसौ, श्रेयांसः; शत्—पचन्, पचन्तौ, पचन्तः ॥ अज्ञ—प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥

Why do we say 'having an indicatory उक् vowel or the stem अच्'? Observe दृष्ट, दृष्टौ, दृष्टः ॥

Why do we say in strong cases? Observe भवतः पश्य, श्रेवसः पश्य ॥ अञ्च् root is mentioned for the sake of niyama, i.e. of the roots, only अञ्च् gets तुम् and no other root. Therefore उखान्त्, पर्णधन्त् formed from the roots संस् and धंस् having indicatory त् ॥ (See III. 2. 76, IV. 1. 6, VIII. 2. 72). For the lengthening in भवान् &c, see VI. 4. 10, 14: the च् is elided in प्राङ् by VIII. 2. 23, and न् becomes इ् by VIII. 2. 62: and त् in ज्ञत् by VIII. 2. 72.

Why do we say 'with the exception of a root' when by the mere fact of including *one* root अञ्च् all other roots would have been excluded from the scope of this sūtra? The specific mention of अधातोः shows that the prohibition applies to *original* roots, and not to those roots which are *derived* from nouns. Thus गोमन्तमिच्छाति = गोमत्यति formed by क्यच् ॥ Here गोमत्य is a derivative root, in its primitive state it was a noun. The prohibition of अधातोः will not apply to this root and तुम् will be added. Thus गोमत्य + क्लिष्ट = गोमत्य॒+० (the अ is dropped by VI. 4. 48) = गोमत्॒+० (the श् is elided by VI. 4. 50). Now is added तुम् and we have गोमान् ॥

युजेरसमासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युजेः, अ समासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युजेरसमासे सर्वनामस्थाने परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥

71. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus युड् (VIII. 2. 23, 62) युज्जौ, युज्जः; but अश्युक्, अश्युज्जौ, अश्युज् in a compound. The root युज समाधौ (Divādi 68) is not to be taken here; therefore not here युजमापत्रा अष्टव्यः ॥ But युजिर् योगे (Rudhādi 7) is to be taken.

नपुंसकस्य झलचः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंकस्य, झल्, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकस्य झलन्तस्याजन्तस्य च सर्वनामस्थाने परतो तुमागमो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहूर्जि प्रतिषेधो वक्षव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अन्त्यात्पूर्वं तुमेमकइच्छन्ति ॥

72. The augment तुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus उद्धिन्ति, शक्निति (VI. 4. 10) यथांसि, पथांसि ; कुण्डानि, वनानि (VI. 4. 8), चपूणि, जतूनि ॥ Why 'of a Neuter'? Observe अग्निचिद् ब्राह्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'not ending in a semivowel or a nasal'? Observe बहुपुरि, बहुधुरि, विमलदिवि, चत्वारि, भहानि (VII. 1. 98). A neuter having an indicatory उक् vowel gets तुम् by this sūtra and not by VII. 1. 70, as that is superseded by this, this being the subsequent. As श्रेयांसि, भूयांसि कुर्वन्ति कृषन्ति ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Vart :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to बहूर्जि; as बहूर्जि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ Some would have न् added between इ and ज् of this word, as बहूर्जिज् ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ See I. 4. 13.

इको इचि विभक्तौ ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, अचि, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य नपुंसकस्याक्षस्याजावौ विभक्तौ तुमागमो भवति ॥

Kārikā—इकोचि व्यञ्जन मा भूदस्तु लोपः स्वरः कथम् ।
 स्वरो वै श्रूयमाणो पि लुप्ते किं न भविष्यति ॥
 यायात्वं तिसृभावश्च व्यवधानान्तमा अपि ।
 तु इ वाच्य उत्तरार्थं तु इह किं चिचरो हति ॥

73. The augment तुम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus चपुणी, जतुनी, तुम्बुरुणी, चपुणे, जतुने, तुम्बुरुणे ॥ Why “with the exception of अ”? Observe कुण्डे, पीडे ॥ The phrase “before an affix beginning with a vowel” is employed here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. i. 75. Here we could have dispensed with it: for before affixes beginning with a consonant, तुम् would be elided by VIII. 2. 7. The only object that it serves here is that we can form हे चपो! or हे चपु! in the Vocative singular. For had we चपुन्+स in the vocative, the form would have been हे चपुन् like हे राजन्, for न् would not be elided here, see VIII. 2. 8.

If it be objected that by the sūtra न लुप्तताद्वस्त्व (I. i. 63) when the affix स् is elided in the Vocative, it will leave no trace behind, and there being no affix at all, तुम् will not be added in the Vocative. We reply: that this very employment of the word अच् in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) that the rule prohibiting the effect of an affix (I. i. 63) does not apply here. Therefore, though the affix is elided, it produces its effect in spite of I. i. 63, and we have the guṇa of the vowel in the Vocative, as हे चपो by VII. 3. 108.

Why have we used the word विभक्तौ ‘when a case-affix follows’? Observe तुम्बुरवं चूर्णम्, where the *taddhita* affix अच् is added to तुम्बुर by IV. 3. 139.

Kārikā :—The employment of the words इकः आचि in the sūtra shows that तुम् will not come when the affix begins with a consonant, as चपुन्यां, चपुमिः ॥ An objector says, the employment of आचि in the sūtra is useless for तुम् may be added even before an affix beginning with a consonant, for having added it, it will be elided by न लोपःप्रतिपदिकान्तस्य (VIII. 2. 7). We reply, yes it can be so done, but how will you then manage the accent? For in पैञ्चचपुन्यां, पैञ्चचपुमिः, the accent is regulated by the rule VI. 2. 29 which says that in a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent if the second member ends in an इक् vowel. But if there was a तुम्, then the second member would not end in इक् but in न्: and the elision of this न् by VII. 2. 7. is asiddha for the purposes of accent. To this the objector answers, that even where न् is not elided the accent is governed by VI. 2. 29, namely the accent of पैञ्चचपुन्ये or पैञ्चचपुणः is by VI. 2. 29, why should it not be so when न् is elided. So the objection about accent has no strength.

Well if त्रृष्ण be added even before consonant-affix, then there will arise this anomaly: अतिरि+भ्यां=अतिरित्रृष्ण+भ्यां (by adding त्रृष्ण). Here rule VII. 2. 85 cannot apply: because त्रृष्ण intervenes between रि and भ्यां, therefore इ of रि is not changed to आ, and therefore we cannot get the proper form from अतिरायां ॥ Moreover in प्रियाचि+भ्यां, the चि cannot be changed to तिस् if there be त्रृष्ण, and so we cannot get the form प्रियतिसृभ्यां ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

To this it is answered, the change of इ into आ in the case of रि, and the substitution of तिस् for चि will take place even when the त्रृष्ण intervenes, on the maxim विभक्तिविधानदशायां यशनन्तर्यं तत् तत्राश्रीयते न त्वादेशविधानदशायाम् ॥ And this is done in this way: अतिरि+भ्यां, and प्रियाचि+भ्यां, here त्रृष्ण is superseded by the subsequent rule requiring आ and तिस् respectively.

If this be so, then the employment of अच् in the sūtra is for the sake of the supersession of त्रृष्ण by त्रृट् (VII. 1. 54). Thus त्रृट् has unrestricted scope in अग्नीनां, वायुनां, and त्रृष्ण has unrestricted scope in चपुणे and जटुने ॥ But in चपुणां च and जटुनाम्, both त्रृट् and त्रृष्ण present themselves. Here however त्रृष्ण is superseded by त्रृट् by purva-vipratischedha and so there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 3. This supersession is indicated by the employment of अच्, for त्रृट् and त्रृष्ण being both *anitya* and of equal force, had there been no अच्, त्रृष्ण would have come and not त्रृट् ॥

But this is also not valid, for त्रृट् would have to be added, even if there had been no अच् in the sūtra.

The employment of अच् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 75. The only object that अच् serves in this sūtra, is in forming the vocative हे चपो as shown above.

तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्गालवस्य ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीयादिषु, भाषित पुंस्कम्, पुंचत्, गालवस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिभजाविषु भाषितपुंस्कंपुं सकलिङ्गमिगन्तं गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेन पुंवद्वति । यथा पुंसि इस्वनुमौ न भवत्तद्विचापि न भवत्तद्विर्थः ।

74. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ, of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gâlava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As in the Masculine there is no shortening, nor the addition of त्रृष्ण, so here also. As आमणि is the equivalent, uniform masculine of the neuter form आमणि, we have either Ins. आमणिना or आमण्डा ब्राह्मणकुलेन, the Ins. Sg. of आमणि n. Similarly Dat. आमणिने or आमण्डे ब्राह्मणकुलाय; Abl. आमणिनो or आमण्डो ब्राह्मणकुलात्, Gen. Sg. आमणिनो or आमण्डो ब्राह्मणकुलस्व, Gen. Du. आमणिनोब्राह्मणकुलयोः or आमण्डयोः; Gen. Pl. आमणिनां or आमण्डां ब्राह्मणकुलानां ॥ Loc. आमणिनि or आमण्डां ब्राह्मणकुले ॥ Similarly: Ins. शुचिना (same form in mas. and neu.), Dat. शुचये or शुचिने; Abl. and Gen. शुचेः or शुचिनः; Gen. Du. शुच्योः or शुचिनोः; Loc. शुचौ or शुचिनि ॥

Why do we say after the 3rd case and the rest? Observe भासिणी ब्राह्मणकुले, and शुचिनी Nom. dual. Why do we say having an appropriate masculine of the same form and meaning? Observe चतुर्जे, जतुने ॥ Why have we only one form पीतुने फलाय, when पीतुर्वृक्षः and पीतुकूलं show that पीतु has a masculine form also. The word पीतु is masculine when it applies to 'trees', and पीतु is neuter when it refers to 'fruits'; so this word पीतु cannot be said to be भासितपुंस्कः, the masculine पीतु not having the same meaning as the neuter पीतु ॥ See VI. 3. 34.

Why do we say "ending in a vowel except अ"? Observe कीलालपा ब्राह्मणः and कीलालं ब्राह्मणकुलं; the Ins. &c of कीलालपा will not be the Ins. &c of कीलालं ॥ The latter will have only one form कीलालपेन ब्राह्मणकुलेन ॥ &c.

Before case affixes beginning with a consonant we have one form only, as भासिण्यां ब्राह्मणकुलाभ्याम् ॥

अस्थिदधिसकृथ्यक्षणमनहुदात्तः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्थिदधिसकृथ्यमात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थिदधिसकृथ्य अस्थिदधिसकृथ्य इत्येतेषां नपुंसकानां तृतीयादिवजारेतु विभक्तिः परतो उनडित्यमात्तेषो भवति, स चोदात्तो भवति ॥

75. The acutely accented अन् (अनहं) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Thus अस्थी, अस्थेऽ, इधी, इधेऽ, सकृथी, सकृथेऽ, अद्धी, अद्धेऽ ॥ The words अस्थि� &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनहं would have been also anudātta, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation अ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udātta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudātta before, now becomes udātta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As प्रियास्था ब्राह्मणेन, प्रियदधा ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest'? Observe अस्थिनी, इधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, दधिभ्याम् ॥

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि, अपि, दृश्यते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्थिदधिसकृथ्यक्षणमनहं छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते । यत्र विहितस्ततोन्वत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

76. In the Veda also, the stems 'asthi', 'dadhi', 'sakthi' and 'akshi', are found to take the substitute अनहं, before endings other than those mentioned above.

Thus the substitute is ordained before endings beginning with a vowel. In the Veda it comes before affixes beginning with a consonant. As इन्द्रो इधीचो अस्थैभिः, भ्रं पश्येमाकैभिः ॥ The substitute is ordained to come after the Instrumental &c. In the Vedic literature it is found in the Acc. &c. As अस्थैनि in अस्थान्युक्त्य ज्ञाहेति ॥ The substitute comes before case-endings (vi-

bhakti), in the Vedic literature it comes before affixes which are not case-endings, as अक्षणैर्वैता लाङ्गोलेन, अस्यन्वैन्तं यदनस्था विर्भाति ॥ See VI. i. 176.

ई च द्विवचने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, द्विवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने परतश्छन्दसि विषये इस्थावीनामीकारादेशो भवति, सचोदातः ॥

77. The acutely accented ई is substituted for the final of asthi, dadhi, sakthi and akshi, in the Veda, when the case-affixes of the dual follow.

As अक्षी ते इन्द्रपिङ्गले कपेरिव ॥ अक्षीभ्यान् ते नासिकाभ्यास् ॥ In अक्षी the augment तुम् is not added to the stem before the vowel-beginning ending, because VII. i. 73, which ordained तुम्, is superseded by the present sūtra, and being once superseded, it is superseded for good. (सकृद् गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव) ॥

नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानिं ॥ न, अभ्यस्तात्, शतुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्तुम्न भवति ॥

78. The Participial-affix शतु (अत्-अन्त्), does not take the augment तुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus ददत्, ददतौ, ददतः, जक्षत्, जक्षतौ, जक्षतः, जाप्रत्, जाप्रतौ, जाप्रतः ॥ This is an exception to VII. i. 70, and applies of course to sarvanāmāsthāna or strong cases. The तुम् is to be read into this sūtra from VII. i. 70; for the negation of this sūtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sūtra, for ई is never ordained after शत्रि: therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet तुम् is to be read here.

वा नपुंसकस्य ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, नपुंसकस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तावङ्गादुत्तरायः शतूप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्य नपुंसकस्य वा तुमागमो भवति ॥

79. The Participial-affix शतु optionally takes the augment तुम् after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns.

Thus ददति or ददन्ति, कुलानि; दधति or दधन्ति कुलानि, जक्षति or जक्षन्ति कुलानि, जाप्रति or जाप्रन्ति कुलानि ॥ This of course applies to sarvanāmāsthāna or strong cases.

आच्छीनद्योर्तुम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, शी, नद्योः, तुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुर्वा तुमागमो भवति शीनद्योः परतः ॥

80. When the affix शतु comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment तुम्, before the neutral case-ending शी and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus तुदती कुले or तुदन्ती कुले, तुदती ब्राह्मणी, तुदती ब्राह्मणी, याती कुले, यान्ती कुले आती ब्राह्मणी, यान्ती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यती कुले, करिष्यन्ती कुले, करिष्यती ब्राह्मणी, करिष्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ अवान्तरङ्गस्वादेकादेशो कृते व्यपवर्गाभावादवर्णान्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य शतुरिति न युज्यते वक्तुम्, उभयत आप्रये नात्तादिविद्यत्तादिविद्यावैष्टि नास्ति भूतपूर्वगत्याश्रयणो वा इहाने भ्रतीत्येवमादिष्वतिप्रसङ्ग इति, अत्र सभाधि

के चिह्नाहुः, शातुरवयवे शातृशब्दो वस्तेते, अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरो यः शात्रवयव इति ॥ अपरे पुनराहुः, आदित्येवेन शीनद्यावेव विशेष्यते, अवर्णान्तादङ्गादुत्तरो ये शीनद्या तद्योः परतः शात्रन्तस्य तुम्भवतीति, तत्र येन नाव्यवधानं तैन व्यवहितपि वचनप्रमाण्यादिति तकारेणैव व्यवधानमाश्रयिष्यते ॥ आशिरिति किम्, कुर्वती, सुन्वती ॥ शीनद्यापिति किम्, तुवताम्, तुवताम् ॥

The form तुवती is thus evolved. तुइ+श+शतृ+डीप् ॥ The vikaraṇa श is added by III. 1. 77, & डीप् by IV. 1. 6. This is equal to तुइ+अ+अतृ+ई=तुवती the अ+अ becoming अ by the rule of परस्पर ekādeśa (VI. 1. 97). This ekādeśa operation being antaranga, now there is no शतृ affix coming after a stem ending in अ, and therefore this sūtra will not apply. If you say the ekādeśa will be considered as the final of तुइ by VI. 1. 85, we reply, that the antāchvadbhāva of that sūtra will not apply when simultaneous operations are to be performed, for अ cannot be said at one and the same time as the final of तुइ and the beginning of अतृ (शतृ). If you say the maxim सांप्रतिकाभावे भूतपूर्वं गतिः (when a word cannot denote something which actually is what is expressed by the word, it must be understood to denote something which formerly was what is expressed by it), will apply here, and that तुइ will be considered to end in अ because it formerly did end in the affix अ of श; we reply that then the present rule should apply to forms like अइती भूती &c. For here also we have अतृ+शए लोप+शतृ+डीप्; and अतृ should be considered to end in अ, because it had the affix शए after it, though it was afterwards elided. The maxim quoted, therefore, proves too much.

To solve these objections, some say, that the word शतृ in this sūtra means 'a portion of the affix शतृ, such as त्' and the sūtra means 'after a stem ending in अ, to the portion त् of the affix शतृ there is added तुम्.' Others say, the word आत् in the sūtra qualifies शी and नशी and not शतृ; and the sutra means "तुम् is added to a stem ending in शतृ, when शी or नशी affixes follow after a stem ending in अ." Therefore in तुवती the affix ई is considered to come after the अ of तुइ, the intervening त् not debarring it.

Why do we say "after अ"? Observe कुर्वती and सुन्वती, no optional तुम् is added here. Why do we say "शी and नशी following"? Observe तुवताम् and तुवताम्.

शापश्यनोर्नित्यम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाप्, श्यनोः, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शाप् श्यन् इत्येतयोः शतृः शीनद्योः पतो नित्यं तुमागमो भवति ॥

81. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaraṇas शाप् and श्यन्, it invariably takes the augment तुम् before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadi).

Thus पचन्ती कुले, पचन्ती ब्राह्मणी, शीव्यन्ती कुले, शीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी, सीव्यन्ती कुले, सीव्यन्ती ब्राह्मणी ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛitti of वा (VII. 1. 79).

सावनदुहः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, अनदुहः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सौ परतो अनदुहेऽस्य तुमागमो भवति ॥

82. अनदुह gets the augment तुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By VII. 1. 98 अनदुह gets the augment आ after उ in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनद्वाह and अनद्वह ॥ By the present sūtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनद्वान् Nominative Singular; and अनद्वन् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede तुम्, nor are they superseded by तुम् ॥

In this sūtra, some read the annvṛitti of आत् from VII. 1. 80; and by so doing they add तुम् to that form of अनदुह where there is an आ or अ, namely, after the word has taken the augment आम् in the nominative singular by VII. 1. 98, and अम् in the Vocative by VII. 1. 99. Therefore, the तुम् does not debar आम् or अम्, nor is it debarred by आम् or अम् ॥ Others hold that though one is a general rule and the other is a particular rule, yet in this instance, आम् (or अम्) and तुम् are applied simultaneously, one not debarring the other, there is no relationship of बाध्य and बाधक among them, just as in विचीर्णाति the rule of lengthening (VI. 4. 16) and reduplication are applied simultaneously, one not debarring the other. In बहनद्वांहि ब्रात्यणकुलानि, we add first आम् because it is subsequent, and then we add तुम् by VII. 1. 72 on the maxim of उनः प्रसङ्गविज्ञान &c ॥

दक्षस्ववस्वतवसां छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्ष, स्ववस्, स्वतवसाम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दक्ष स्ववस् स्वतवस्त्वयेतेषां सौ परतो तुमागमो भवति छन्दसिविषये ॥

83. दक्ष, स्ववस् and स्वतवस् take the augment तुम् before the affix सु (Nominative and Vocative Singular) in the Veda.

Thus ईदृह, तादृङ्, यादृङ्, सदृङ्, स्ववान्, स्वतवान् ॥ The श् of ईदृश् (formed by III. 2. 60), is elided by VIII. 2. 23; and ङ् substituted for न् by VIII. 2. 62. The lengthening in स्ववान् and स्वतवान् is through VI. 4. 14.

दिव औत् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, औत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवित्यतस्य सौ परतो औवित्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

84. औ is substituted for the final of दिव् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg.).

As औः ॥ There is a nominal-stem दिव् which is taken here. It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root दिव् is not to be taken here, as it

has the indicatory letter त and is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as विद्यु ॥ The nominal-stem derived from विद्यु, does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom. Sg. of which is शुः as अशुः (See VI. 4. 19, and VI. 1. 131).

पथिमवृभुक्षामात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथि, ऋभुक्षाम्, आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् मथिन् ऋभुक्षिन् इत्येतेपामङ्गानां सौ परत आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

85. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pathin' 'mathin' and 'ṛbhukshin', before the ending शु (of the Nom. Sg).

As पन्थाः, मन्थाः, ऋभुक्षाः ॥ Though the sthānin here is a nasal (i.e. ऊ), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised, but to be pronounced purely. For न्थ see VII. 1. 87. The nasal आ is not to be taken on the maxim भाव्यमानेन सर्वानां ग्रहणं न भवति ॥ "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it."

इतोत्सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, अत्, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनामिकारस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

86. अ is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and ṛbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, पन्थानम्, पन्थानौ, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ, मन्थानः, ऋभुक्षानौ, ऋभुक्षाः, ऋभुक्षानौ, ऋभुक्षाणः, ऋभुक्षाणौ ॥ आदिति वर्तमाने पुनरद्धचनं पथुर्वायम्, ऋभुक्षणमित्यत्र वा पथुर्वस्य निगमद्विती वीर्घविकल्पः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI. 4. 9: by which in the case of ऋभुक्षिन् we have two forms, ऋभुक्षाणम् and ऋभुक्षणम् ॥

थोन्थः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ थः, अन्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमयोस्थकारस्य स्थाने न्थ इत्येवनादेशो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतः ॥

87. न्थ् is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin in the strong cases.

As पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

भस्य टेलोपः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य, टेः, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादीनां भस्यकानां टेलोपो भवति ॥

88. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin and ṛbhukshin, before a weak case-ending beginning with a vowel (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, मथः, मथा, मथे, ऋभुक्षः, ऋभुक्षा, ऋभुक्षे ॥ The anuvṛitti of sarvanāmasthāna, of course, is inappropriate here: though its anuvṛitti is current as will be seen in the next sūtra.

पुं सो इसुद् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसः, असुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंस इत्येतस्य सर्वनामस्थाने परतो इसुडित्येवनादेशो भवति ॥

89. असुङ् (असू) is substituted for the final of पुंस् in the strong cases.

The word पुंस् is derived from पा (to protect)+हुम्सुन् (Un IV. 178), the स् being changed to anusvāra. So when स् of पुंस् is replaced by अस् we get the form पुमस्, the उ of असुङ् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII. I. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसी, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशवद्भावः): otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. I. 223), therefore, परमपुंस् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान् of course, has accent on पु ॥

गोतो णित् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोतो, णित् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णित्वति ॥

90. The endings of the strong cases are णित् after गो ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the णित् operations: such as Vṛiddhi &c. As गौः, गायौ, गावः ॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in चित्रगुः, शबलगुः ॥

How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे शबलगवः? This is done on the maxim अङ्गाद्वये पुनर्वृत्ताविविधि निर्दितस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the अङ्गाधिकारा VI. 4.—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the अङ्गाधिकारा is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when Guṇa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3. 108-109, the णित्व operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोतः in the sūtra may be construed as Sam-bandha-lakṣaṇā Sasthi (a Genitive denoting a general relation): and the meaning will be "that sarvanāmsthāna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow.' While in चित्रगु, the sarvanāmsthāna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another object, namely to a 'person' who possesses brindled cows. त् in गोत् in this view is for specification only.

Some read the sūtra as ओतः णित्, so that the rule will apply to ओ also: as, ओः, ओयौ, ओवः ॥ If the reading be taken गोतः, then we extend this rule to ओ also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in ओ; and this is done by the letter त् in गोतः, for the तपर rule applies to letters, and not to words, so that गोतः means and includes गो and words ending in ओ ॥

णलुक्तमो वा ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णल्, उक्तमः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उक्तमो णल्वा णित् भवति णित्कार्यं तत्र वा भवतीत्यर्थः ॥

91. The ending of the First Pers. Sg. in the Perfect optionally acts as णित् ॥

The Vṛiddhi is optional, as अहं नकार or चकर, अहं पपाच or पपच ॥

सख्युरसम्बूद्धौ ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सख्युः, अ सम्बूद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंबूद्धौ यः सखिशब्दः तस्मात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णिद्रवति ॥

92. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णित् ॥

That is, they cause Vṛiddhi. As सखायौ, सखायः, but हे सखे ॥

अनङ् सौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनङ्, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखिशब्दस्य सौ परतो उन्डित्ययमादेशो भवति स चेत्सुशब्दः संबूद्धिर्न भवति ॥

93. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

As सखा, but हे सखे ॥

ऋदुशनस्तुरुदंशोनेहसां च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्, उशनस्, पुरुदंशः अनेहसाम च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानामङ्गानादुशनस् पुरुदंशस् इत्येतेशां चासंबूद्धौ सौ परतो उन्डादेशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उशनसः सम्बूद्धावपिपक्षेऽनह इत्यते । न डिसंबूद्धीरिति नलोपप्रतिषेधोपि पक्षात्यते ॥

Kārikā:—संबोधने तृष्णमसत्स्विरुपं सामन्तं तथा नान्तमयात्यवदन्तम् ॥

माध्यं दिनर्वाटि गुणं विगते नंसके व्याप्रपदां वरिष्ठः ॥

94. Anañ (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ, as well as for the final of usanas, purudanśas, and anehas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

As कर्ता, हर्ता, माता, पिता, भाता, उशना, पुरुदंशा, अनेहा ॥ In the Voc. Sg. we have हे कर्ता:, हे मातः, पितः: पुरुदंशः, अनेहः and उशनः ॥

Vart:—अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशनस् in the Voc. Sg. also, as हे उशनक्, the final क् not being elided (See VIII. 2. 8). Otherwise we have हे उशन ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular: as हे उशनस्, हे उशनक्, and हे उशन ! ॥

Kārikā:—In the vocative, the word उशनस् has three forms, (1) ending in स् when अनङ् is not added, (2) ending in क्, when क् is not elided, (3) ending in अ when क् is elided. This is the opinion of the Achārya Mādhyandini. So also according to the Achārya Vaiyāghrapadya, (the best of the Vyāghrapadas), there is Guṇa in the Neuter of the stems ending in इक् vowels; as हे चपो ॥

The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of distinctness.

तृज्ज्वत्कोष्टुः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्ज्वत्, कोष्टुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तुन्त्ययान्तः संज्ञाशब्दः सर्वनामस्थाने उसंबूद्धौ परत तृज्ज्वत्वति ॥

95. The word कोटु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तृच् (तृं) ॥

The word कोटु is declined like कोट् in the strong cases. As कोटी, कोटीरौ, कोटीरौः, कोटीरौम्, कोटीरौ॒ ॥ But कोटून् in weak cases, and हे कोटो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तृच् affix, i.e. acute on the final. The word कोटु is formed by the affix तृन् (Unि सितनिगमि &c, I. 69).

स्त्रियां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियां, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असर्वनामस्थानार्थाभ्यः । स्त्रियां च कोटुशब्दस्य तृच्चवद्वति ॥

96. The word कोटु is treated as if it ended in तृच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

This sūtra is commenced for the sake of cases other than strong ones. In strong cases, whether of masculine or feminine, the former sūtra applies; but in the feminine, in other cases also there is trich-treatment. Thus कोटी, कोटी॒याम्, कोटीभिः ॥ Some read the word कोटु in the Gaurādi class (IV. I. 41), and they treat it is a तृच् ending word before the feminine affix डी॒ष, as कोटी॒ ॥ According to them, in forming the Taddhitārtha compounds like पञ्चभिः क्राटी॒भः क्री॒तैः = पञ्चक्रोटी॒भै॒ रै॒, we could not get the form पञ्चक्रोटी॒भै॒, because when the affix डक् is elided by V. I. 28, the feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49, and the डी॒ष being thus luk-elided, there would be no तृज्ञाव, because the affix leaves no trace behind I. I. 63. To get out of the difficulty, we can only say, that the form is so, in spite of the apparent inconsistency.

Those who do not read कोटु in the Gaurādi class, they explain this sūtra by saying that the word स्त्रियां indicates the sense, namely, कोटु is treated like a तृच् word, when it denotes a female, wherever it may occur.

And because कोटु is treated as if it was कोट्, the feminine will be formed by the affix डी॒ष by IV. I. 5, and the form क्रोटी॒॑ will be end-acute by VI. I. 174. So that whether कोटी॒ be formed by डी॒ष under Gaurādi class, or by डी॒ष under IV. I. 5, the accent remains the same: while under this second view, we have not to face any such difficulty as in the first.

विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृतीयादिषु, अचि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयादिषु विभक्तिष्वजादिषु कोटुविभाषा तृच्चवद्वति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तृच्चवद्वावात् पूर्वप्रतिषेधेन नुभुन्ती॑ भवतः ॥

97. कोटु may optionally be treated as Kroshṭr, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As कोटी॒ or कोटुना, क्रोटै॒ or कोटुवे, क्रोटै॒॑ or कोटो॒॑, कोटी॒रि or कोटी॒रौ, क्रोटै॒रौ॒॑ or कोटै॒रौ॒ ॥ But कोटून् in the Accusative Plural, and कोटुयां before consonant-beginning affixes.

Vart—नुद् and नुद् augments come in supersession of the Trich-vad-bhāva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun प्रियकोङ्कुने इत्याय, हितकोङ्कुने वृथलकुलाय, and not °कोङ्के॥ Similarly with नुद्, as कोङ्कनाम्॥

चतुरनुहोरामुदात्तः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्, अनुहोः, आम्, उदात्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर् अनुह् इत्येतयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आनागमो भवति, स चोदात्तः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुहः स्त्रियां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. चतुर् and अनुह् get the acutely accented augment आ (आम्) after the उ in the strong cases.

Thus चत्वारः, अनुड्वान्, अनुड्वाही, अनुड्वाहः, अनुड्वाहम् ॥ The rule applies to compounds ending with चत्वार् and अनुह्, as प्रियचत्वार्, प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियानुहान्, प्रियानुहाही, प्रियानुहाहः ॥

Vart—In the case of अनुह् there is option in the feminine, as अनुही, or अनुहाही ॥ This would be so, because it occurs in Gaurādi class IV. I. 41.

अमसंबुद्धौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धी परतचतुरनुहोरामागमो भवति ॥

99. चतुर् and अनुह् get the augment अ after the उ in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule, as हे प्रियचत्वः (a Bahuvrīhi), हे प्रियनुहन् ॥

ऋत इद्धातोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, इत्, धातोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य इकारादेशो भवति ॥

100. For the final long ऋ of a root, there is substituted इर् (I. 1. 51).

As किरति, गिरति from कृ and गृ of the Tudādi class. आस्तीर्णम् विस्तीर्णम् from स्त्व, the lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Why do we say of a root? Observe पिनृणाम्, मानृणाम् ॥

This substitution will apply to Derivative roots also, as चिकीर्षति from कृ 'to scatter'.

उपधायाश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपधायाश्च इकारान्तस्य इकारादेशो भवति ॥

101. इर् is also substituted for the penultimate long ऋ of a root.

As कीर्तयति, कीर्तयतः; क त्वयन्तः; from कृत् ॥ Lengthening by VIII. 2. 77.

उदोष्ठयपूर्वस्य ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, ओष्ठ्य, पूर्वस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओष्ठयः पूर्वो यस्माद् इकारान्तसादोष्ठयपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इत्वोत्त्वाद्यां गुणवृद्धी भवतो विप्रतियेधेन ॥

102. उ॒र् is substituted for the final long ऋ of a root, when it is preceded by a labial consonant belonging to the root.

As पूर्ति and पुरूर्षति from पू, so also पुरूर्षति ॥ The lengthening is by VIII.

2. 77. The rule applies when the dento-labial व precedes: as बुरूर्षति अत्यवजम् from बू; so also आदुरूर्षति कम्बलम् ॥ The labial consonant must be the consonant of the root. Therefore when च्छ 'to go' is preceded by सम्, the rule will not apply, for स् is not part of the root: as समीर्णम् by VII. i. 100.

Vart:—The Guṇa and Vṛiddhi do take place in supersession of इ॒र् and उ॒र् substitution. Thus आस्तरणम् and आस्तारकः (from स्त्व with ल्युट् and प्लुट्), निपरणम्, निपारकः from पू, निगरणम्, निगारकः from गू ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये चक्कारान्तस्य धातोरङ्गस्य बहुलम् कारादेशो भवति ॥

103. In the Veda, the उ॒र् substitution for ऋ of a root-stem is diverse.

That is, it takes place even when the preceding letter is not labial, and does not take place even when the letter is labial. Thus मित्रा वरुणौ ततुरि, वूरे ह्यध्वा जगुर्ति, पमितमष् (no change), and पपुरिः, from तू, गू and गू ॥ All these words ततुरि, जगुर्ति and पमि are formed by the affix कित् (III. i. 171).

ओ३४।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचि, वृद्धिः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदे परे सिचि परत इग्नतस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

1. Before the Aorist-characteristic स् (सिच्), Vṛiddhi is substituted in the Parasmaipada, for the final of a stem ending in इ, उ, औ (long or short, I. 1. 3).

The word इक् is to be read into this sūtra by virtue of I. 1. 3. As अचैषीत्, अनैषीत्, अलावीत्, अपावीत्, अकार्षीत्, अशार्षीत् (VII. 3. 96 and VIII. 2. 28) The antarāṅga guṇa substitution is superseded by the express mention of Vṛiddhi. If the antarāṅga guṇa is superseded by this vṛiddhi, why is not the antarāṅga उवङ् also superseded in न्युषीत्, न्युषीत्? The Vṛiddhi does not take place, as these roots belong to कुटादि class, after which this affix is छित् (I. 2. 1). The Vṛiddhi being thus superseded, we have उवङ् substitution. Why do we say in the Parasmaipada? Observe अच्योष, अहोष ॥

अतो लान्तस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लान्तस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेक्लकारौ यावतः समीपौ तद्वन्तस्याङ्गस्य अत एव स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

2. Vṛiddhi is substituted for the short अ, when it is immediately followed by the final र् or ल् of a root, before the Parasmaipada s-Aorist.

As क्षर्-अत्सारीत्, त्वर्-अत्सारीत्, च्वल्-अच्चालीत्, ह्लाल्-अह्लालीत् ॥ This debars the option of VII. 2. 7. Why 'short अ'? Observe न्यखारीत् न्यमीलीत् ॥ Why do we say "ending in र or ल"? Observe मा भवानशीत्, मा भवानटीत् ॥ The word अन्त means here 'proximity', as in the sentence उद्दकान्तं गतः = उद्दकसमीपं गतः ॥ The अ must be in the proximity of the र and ल ॥ Therefore the rule does not apply to अवधीत्, अश्वलीत्, for though र and ल are here *final* of the stem, yet are not in the proximity of अ ॥

वद्व्रजहलन्तस्याचः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वद्, व्रज, हलन्तस्य, अचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वद्व्रजोहलन्तानां चाङ्गानामचः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति सिचि परस्मैपदे परतः ॥

3. In the Parasmaipada s-Aorist there is Vṛiddhi of the अ of वद्, वज्, and of any vowel, without distinction, of the stems ending in a consonant.

As अवादीत्, अव्राजीत् ॥ This debars the option in the case of these two roots, which would have otherwise obtained by VII. 2. 7. So also of stems ending in consonants: as अपाक्षीत्, अभैत्तीत्, अच्छैत्तीत्, अरौत्तीत् ॥ By the splitting up of the sūtra (yoga-vibhaga) these forms could be evolved without using the word इलन्त in the sūtra. Thus (1) वदिव्रज्ये: "In the room of the अ of वद and वज् there is Vṛiddhi". (2) अच: "In the room of the vowel of the stem there is Vṛiddhi". The word "stem" is understood throughout these chapters. If the vowel be at the *end* of the stem, there would be Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 1, and if in the *middle* of the stem, then the verb *ends* with a *consonant*, and still there will be Vṛiddhi by our rule. The use of the word इलन्त in the sūtra indicates that the rule applies when more than one consonant even is at the end: as अराङ्क्षीत्, अभाङ्क्षीत् ॥

Had the word इलन्तस्य not been used in the sūtra, then the following maxim would have applied "येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रमाणात्" ॥ The rule would have applied where only *one* consonant intervened between the vowel and the affix, but not when more than one consonant intervened. But it is intended that the rule should apply to such cases also.

The form उद्वोदाम् is thus evolved. To the root वह we add सिच् in the second Person singular. Thus वह+स्ताम् ॥ Now there appears the Vṛiddhi rule on the one side; and the rule requiring the change of ह to ष (VIII. 2. 31), the rule requiring the elision of स् (VIII. 2. 26), the rule requiring the change of त into ध (VIII. 2. 40), then the rule requiring the change of ष into ष्ठ, and then the elision of one ष (VIII. 3. 13) on the other. What rule is to be applied first—the Vṛiddhi or the other rules? The Vṛiddhi rule is to be applied first, because the other rules are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1); and after that we apply the other rules: and afterwards on account of the elision of ष, we change the Vṛiddhi आ into ओ (VI. 3. 112). The equation will be something like this:—वह+स्ताम् = वाह+स्ताम् (VII. 2. 3) = वाह+स्ताम् (VIII. 2. 31) = वाह+ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = वाह+धाम् (VIII. 2. 80) = वाह+दाम् (VIII. 4. 41) = वा+दाम् (VIII. 3. 13) = वोदाम् (VI. 3. 112). This with the upasarga उन् and the augment अ becomes उद्वोदाम् ॥ Similar is the evolution of उद्वोदम् with स्तम् ॥ Once the अ has been Vṛiddhied into ओ, there is no Vṛiddhi of ओ ॥ Had we not first Vṛiddhied the वह into वाह, but applied the vṛiddhi rule last, then there would have been vṛiddhi of ओ, as वौदाम् which is wrong. In fact where there has not taken place vṛiddhi first, there ओ is vṛiddhied, as = सोदामित्रस्यापत्यं = सौदामित्रः ॥

नेदि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडारौ सिच्चि हलन्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

4. The vowel of a stem, ending in a consonant, does not get Vṛiddhi, when the सिच्चि takes the augment इटि ॥

As अदेवीत्, असेवीत्, अकोषीत्, अमोषीत्, but अलावीत् where the root ends in a vowel. Will not लू by taking Guṇa (which is an antarāṅga operation) and the substitution of अव्, become a root ending in a consonant? No, though Guṇa is antarāṅga, it is superseded by the express Vṛiddhi.

ह्यन्तश्चणश्वसजागृणिश्वयेदिताम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह, म, य, अन्त, क्षण, श्वस, जागृ, णि, श्विप, एदिताम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तानां मकारान्तानां यकारान्तानां नकानां क्षण श्वस जागृ णि श्वि इत्येतेषामोदितां च इडारौ सिच्चि परस्मैपै परतो वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

5. The Vṛiddhi of the vowel of the following stems, does not take place before the इटि augment s-Aorist in the Parasmaipada; namely —the stems ending in ह, म or य, the roots क्षण, श्वस, जागृ, a stem formed with णि, the root श्विप, and the roots having an indicatory ए in the Dhātupāṭha.

Thus अह, 'to catch' अप्रहीत्, स्वम्, 'to sound' अस्थमीत्, अव्य, 'to expend' अव्यथीत्, दुव्यम्, 'to vomit' अवमीत्, क्षण 'to hurt' अक्षणीत्, श्वम् 'to breathe' अश्वसीत्, जागृ 'to be awake' अजागरीत्, णि, ऊन (churādi) 'to lose' ऊनयीत्, इटि 'to send' इलयीत्, श्वि, अश्वयीत् ॥ एदिताम्, रगे 'to cover' अरणीत्. क्षेय, अक्षेयीत् ॥

ह्यन्तश्चणश्वसामोदितां च अतो हलविश्वयोरिति विकल्पे प्राप्ते प्रतिषेधः ॥ जागृणिभ्वीनां तु सिच्चि वृद्धिः प्राप्ता, सा च नेटीति न प्रतिषिद्ध्यते, न वान्तरङ्गश्वाक्षरं पूर्वे गुणो भवति सिच्चि वृद्धेरनवकाशात्वात् ॥ यदि पूर्वे गुणः स्याद्विहणिश्विभवत्यनर्थकं स्यात् ॥ गुणायादेशायोः कृतयोर्यकारान्तरङ्गश्वेदिव प्रतिषेधस्य सिद्धत्वात् ॥ तस्मादिवेव णिश्विभवत्य शापकं न सिच्चन्तरङ्गमस्तीति ॥ अथ जागृभवत्य किमर्थम् ॥ जागृ विच्छिणलिङ्गस्तु इति जागरेण्युणो वृद्धेरपवादेण विधीयते ॥ स यथा अच्चा उणतीति वृद्धिं बाधते, तथा सिच्चि वृद्धिमपि बाधिष्यते ॥ नैतदस्ति ॥ कृते गुण इतो लून्तस्येति या वृद्धिः प्राप्तोति सा प्रतिषिद्ध्यते, ॥ अथ सुणविधानसामर्थ्यादुत्तरकालभविन्यपि वृद्धिर्वाच्यते, ॥ यथा जागरश्वतीत्यचात उपधाया इत्यपि वृद्धिर्न भवति, तथा चिप्णलोः प्रतिषेधोर्थवान्मवति इति शक्यमिह जागृभवत्यमकर्त्तुम् ॥ न तु कियते विस्पर्शार्थम् ॥

In the case of roots ऊन and इटि in the above examples, the च्छ्रुत् is prohibited by III. 1. 51. This is an exception to VII. 2. 7 : so far as stems in ह, य and म are concerned. There is no option allowed here. In the case of जागृ, णि-roots, and श्वि, the Vṛiddhi would have taken place by VII. 1. 1 ; and VII. 1. 4, could not have debarred Vṛiddhi, hence the special mention of these roots.

Nor can it be said, in the case of these roots, that "they will take first guṇa, on account of its being an Antarāṅga operation", because, then the rule of Vṛiddhi ordained by VII. 1. 1 will find no scope. Moreover, if the guṇa

took place first and then Vṛiddhi, the mention of जि-roots and दित् in the sūtra would be redundant. For in जनयति and अशयति, having guṇated the roots जने and श्वि to जने and श्वे, and then substituting अय् (which is also antaranga) for ए before ईत्, we have जनय॑+ईत्, and अश्य॑+ईत् ॥ Now these are roots which end in य् and would be covered by the first portion of the present sūtra, viz, "h-m-y-anta", so the especial mention of जि-roots and श्वि would be superfluous, if guṇa was to take place first. The very mention of जि-roots and श्वि in this sūtra, is a jñāpaka (indicator) of the following maxim न सिच्च अन्तरङ्गमस्ति ॥

Why have we used the root जागृ in the sūtra, when the special sūtra VII. 3. 85 will cause guṇa by superseding Vṛiddhi in the case of जागृ? This supersession will take place on the analogy of अचोऽभ्यन्ति (VII. 2. 115); for as this vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 115 is superseded by VII. 3. 85, so will the present Vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 1. *Ans.* No, this is not so. No doubt VII. 3. 85 does supersede the vṛiddhi rule VII. 2. 1 and we have guṇa, as जाग॑+ईत् ॥ Then comes in VII. 2. 2, which would cause vṛiddhi, because now it is a root ending in त्; this second vṛiddhi is prohibited by the present sūtra. You can say, that by the very fact that the guṇa rule VII. 3. 85 takes effect, will prevent every future Vṛiddhi, as in जाग॑र॒ति there is no penultimate vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 116 [जाग॑+जि=जाग॑+णि (VII. 3. 85)=जाग॑रि the rule VII. 2. 116 does not apply after guna] You can, of course, say so, and there is no answer to this but by saying that the mention of जागृ is only for the sake of distinctness.

In case the reading of जागृ in the sūtra be held necessary, then the operations which it undergoes, are shown below:

जाग॑+इस्+ईत् ॥ Now appears (1) the rule VI. 1. 77. requiring the change of अ् into त् ॥ (2) This यणादेश is however, debarred by the rule VII. 3. 84 which causes guṇa of the finals of verbal stems before all sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes, because this guṇa rule is an apavāda to यणादेश ॥ (3) But this guṇa in its turn is debarred by the rule VII. 2. 1 requiring the vṛiddhi. (4) But this vṛiddhi is, however, superseded by VII. 3. 85, which causes the guṇa of the final of जागृ ॥ Now having gunated it, we get this form:—

जाग॑+इस्+ईत् ॥ Now appears VII. 2. 3 which requires vṛiddhi, because it is a root ending in a consonant. (2) But that vṛiddhi is superseded by VII. 2. 4 because the affix सिच् has taken the ई augment. (3) Then appears the rule VII. 2. 7 requiring optional vṛiddhi, (4) But that optional vṛiddhi is superseded by the compulsory vṛiddhi required by VII. 2. 2, because it is a root ending in त् ॥ (5) And this last vṛiddhi is prohibited by the present sūtra VII. 2. 5. These nine stages through which the form अजाग॑रीत् is evolved, is abbreviated in the following mnemonic verse:—युणो वृद्धिं युणो वृद्धिं प्रतिषेधो विकल्प-नम् ॥ पुन र्वद्धिं निषेधोऽतो यणपूर्वोः प्राप्तयो नव ॥

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोते: विभाषा ॥

षुचिः ॥ कर्णोतेरिदारौ सिचि परस्मैपदपरे परतो विभाषा वृद्धिनेभवति ।

6. Before an इट्-beginning s-Aorist of the Paras-maipada, there is optional Vṛiddhi of the vowel of ऊर्णु ॥

As प्रौर्णवीत् or प्रौर्णवीत् ॥ This option applies when the सिच् is not treated as डित् ॥ But after ऊर्णु, सिच् is optionally डित्, (I. 2. 6): when it is डित्, there being neither guṇa nor vṛiddhi; we have उवृह् substitution, as प्रौर्णवीत् (VI. 4. 77).

अतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हल् आदेः, लघोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादेरज्ञस्य लघोरकारस्य इडावै सिचि परमैपद्ये परतो विभाषा वृद्धिर्न भवति ।

7. Before an इट्-beginning s-Aorist of the Paras-maipada, the short अ of the root gets optionally Vṛiddhi, when the stem begins with a consonant, and the अ is prosodially short by being followed by a simple consonant.

Thus अकणीत् or अकाणीत्, अरणीत् or अराणीत् ॥ Why do we say 'of अ'? Observe अदेवीत्, असेवीत् ॥ Besides this patent objection, there is another, not so manifest. If we had not taken अतः, the sūtra would have ordained Vṛiddhi of every vowel (अचः VII. 2. 3), the Vṛiddhi so ordained would be an अच् pertaining Vṛiddhi, and not an इट्-pertaining Vṛiddhi. Therefore डित् affixes will not debar such Vṛiddhi, for the किंति च (I. 1. 5), debars only इग्नक्षणा Vṛiddhi. Therefore कुदादि roots after which सिच् is डित् (I. 2. 1), will get Vṛiddhi, which is not desired. Therefore we have only one form of न्यकु-टीत्, न्यपुटीत् ॥

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe मा भवानशीत्, मा भवानटीत् from अश् and अट् ॥ Why do we say 'prosodially short'? Observe अतक्षीत्, अरक्षीत् ॥

But why does not vṛiddhi take place in अचकासीत् from the root चकास् (Ad. 65)? The vṛiddhi does not take place on the maxim येन ना व्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनं प्रामाण्यात्; for the rule applies to short अ only when a consonant intervenes between it and the affix, and not when both consonants and vowels intervene. In चकास् not only the consonants क् and स् intervene but also the vowel जा ॥ Hence there is no vṛiddhi. Moreover, the व्यवधान can be by one letter and not by more than one letter. Therefore, applying this maxim, the word लघोः might have been omitted from the sūtra without any detriment. In that case, the form अतक्षीत् from the root तक्ष (Bhu 685) will be explained by saying that rule VII. 2. 7 does not apply to it, because *two* consonants intervene between अ and the affix. In this view of the case, the employment of the word लघोः in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness only.

The word इट् is understood in this sūtra, so that the rule applies to सेह् aorist. The rule therefore, does not apply to Anīt aorist, as अपाक्षीत् ॥

The form अपिप्रिषीत् the aorist of the Desiderative root, is explained by saying that the long आ of vṛiddhi is elided by VI. 4. 64.

नेद्विशि कृति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इट, वशि, कृति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वशादौ कृति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

8. The augment इट is not added to a कृत-affix beginning with a sonant consonant (वश् pratayāhāra).

The वश् pratayāhāra is rather vague. The rule really applies to Kृt-affixes beginning with व, र (ल) म and न, and no कृत् affix begins with any other letter of वश् class. Thus ईशिता, ईशितुम् non-vaś letters get the augment, but not ईश्वरः (III. 2. 175) so also ईपिता, ईपितुम् but not ईप्रम् (III. 2. 167 र.) भसिता, भसितुम् but not भस्म, (III. 2. 75. मानन्) यतिता, यतितुम् but not यत्रः (III. 3. 90 नह्)

The Vārtika नेह वरमनादौ कृति gives the rule in a more definite form. Of course, in the Uṇādi Kृt-affixes, there is diversity. There we get the affix इ, for example, which of course does not take the augment, as इम् + इ = इण्डः (Uṇ I. 113). Why do we say कृत् affixes? Observe रुदिव, रुदिम् ॥

Here by VII. 2. 76 the Sārvadhātuka affixes beginning with a वल् consonant take इट augment after the roots रुद् &c; but this इट will also be prohibited by the present sūtra, if the word कृति be not read in the sūtra. So that rule VII. 2. 76 would find scope before those वलादि affixes only which do not begin with a वश् letter; as रुदितः ॥ In some texts of Kāsika the counter-example is रुदिम् in the Perfect. This is wrong, according to Padamnjari (काविनि-यमादेव इटः सिद्धत्वात्) because इट always comes in the Perfect except after the root कृ &c. (VII. 2. 13); so the counter-example from the Perfect Tense is not valid. This sūtra is an exception to VII. 2. 35. The Kृt-affixes beginning with वश् letters as given by Pāṇini are the following: वन् (वनिष्, कूनिष्, डन्वनिष्), वर् (वरच् and कूरप्), वस् (कूसु), रु (कू), लुक् (क्लुकन्), मन् (मनिन्), मर् (क्मरच्) न (नह्, नन्), नश् (नजिह्), तु (कूतु) ॥ This list will show the truth of the above vārtika.

तितुत्रतथसिसुसरकसेषु च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, तु, त्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क, सेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ति तु त्र त थ सि सु सर क स इत्येतेषु कृत्यु इडागमो न भवति ।

वार्जितम् ॥ तितुत्रेषु अग्रहादीनाम् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. The इट augment is not taken by the following Krit-affixes :—ति, तु, त्र, त, थ, सि, सु, सर, क and स ॥

Thus (1) क्तिच्—तन्ति: but तनिता, तनितुम्, क्तिन्—ईपिता, ईपितुम् ॥ (2) त्रुव् (Uṇ I. 70)—सकुः but साचिता, साचितुम् ॥ (3) ध्रुव् (III. 2. 182)—पञ्च but पतिता, पतितुम्, so also Uṇādi ध्रुव् (Uṇ IV. 158), as तन्मय from तव् ॥ (4) तव् (Uṇ III. 86)—हस्तः but हसिता, हसितुम्; so also लीतः, पीतः, धूर्तः: from लु, पू, धूर्वि forming सेद्वलविता, पविता, धूर्विता ॥ The त affix mentioned in the sūtra refers to this Uṇādi त (Uṇ III. 86), and not to the त (क्त) of Nishṭhā, for the Nishṭhā त takes the augment, as हसितम् ॥ (5) कृथन् (Uṇ II. 2)—कूष्ठम् but कोषिता, कोषितुम्, काष्ठम् but काशिता, काशितुम् ॥ (6) कृति (Uṇ III. 155), as कृक्षिः but कोषिता, कोषितुम् ॥ (7) कृसु (Uṇ III. 157)—इक्षुः but एषिता, एषितुम्; (8) सरन् (Uṇ III. 70)—भक्तम्,

but भशिता, भशितुम् ॥ (9) कर् (Uṇ III. 43)—शल्कः but शलिता, शलितुम् ॥ (10) स (Uṇ III. 62)—वस्तः but वदिता, वदितुम् ॥

Vārt—The affix ति, तु and ति take इ॒ � augment after यह् and words of similar formations :—as विगृहीतिः, उपस्थितिः, निकृचिति निपटिति : ॥

Before non-kṛit ति &c, we have इ॒, as रोशिति, स्वप्निति ॥

एकाच उपदेशे अनुदात्तात् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाचः, उपदेशे, अनुदात्तात्, ॥ शृणिः ॥ उपदेशे य एकाच् धातुरनुशास्त्र तस्मादिडागमो न भवति ।

10. The augment इ॒ is not added to that affix which is joined to a root, which in the Grammatical system of Instruction (i. e. in the Dhātupāṭha) is of one syllable, and is without accent (anudātta).

A list of such roots has been collected by the *Anit-Kārikā*. They are given below.

Kārikā—अनिद्वरान्तो भवतीति दृश्यतामिमांस्तु सेदः प्रवदन्ति तद्विहः ।
अवन्तभूवन्तमृतां च वृडवृज्ञा विडीडिवर्णेष्वय शीङ्खिभ्रावपि ॥
गणस्थमूद्वन्तमृतां च रुस्तुवौ क्षुवन्तयांतिमयो युणुक्षणवः ।
इति स्वरान्ता निपुणैः समुचितास्ततो हलन्तानपि सत्रिबोधतः ॥

As a general rule all monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel except अ, long ऊ and long ऋ are anudātta, and do not take इ॒ augment : as वात्, नेत्, चेत्, स्तोत्, कर्त्, हर्त् ॥ The following are the exceptions :—

(1) All roots ending in short अ are Uḍātta and take इ॒; as अवधिष्ट ॥

(2) All roots ending in long ऋ are सेद्, as तृ—तरिता or तरीता ॥

(3) All roots ending in short ऋ are अनिद् except वृह् (IX. 38 the references are to the class and number in the Dhātupāṭha) and वृभ् (V. 8, X. 271): as निर्विता or निर्वीरीता, प्रविता or प्रवीरीता ॥

(4) All roots in short ई are Anit, except वि� (I. 1059), 'to grow' and विभ् 'to attend' (I. 945), as व्यथिता, व्ययिता ॥

(5) All roots in long ई are Anit, except शीङ्ख 'to rest' (II. 22), and ढीङ्ख 'to fly' (I. 1017, IV. 27), as शयिता, उङ्खदयिता ॥

(6) All roots in long ऊ are सेद्, as लविता, पविता from लू and पू ॥

(7) All monosyllabic roots in short त are Anit, except, रुह् 'to sound' (II. 24, I. 1008), स्तु 'to flow' (II. 29), क्षु 'to sound' (II. 27), यु 'to mix' (II. 23) तु 'to praise' (II. 26), दण्ण 'to sharpen', (II. 28); and कर्त्तुञ्च 'to cover' (II. 30, though consisting of more than one syllable, is treated like तु for the purposes of यह्) ॥ Thus रविता, प्रविता, क्षविता, यविता, नविता, दण्विता and प्रोर्णविता ॥

Of the roots ending in consonants, all are सेद् except the following :—

Kārikā—इति स्वरान्ता निपुणैः समुचितास्ततो हलन्तानपि सत्रिबोधत ।

शकिस्तु कानेष्वनिडेक इष्यते पसिश सान्तेषु वर्त्सः प्रसारणी ॥

यमिस्तु भानेष्वय मैयुने यमिस्ततस्तृतीयाल्यमेरवन्तरे ॥

यमिर्यमन्तेष्टनिङ्के इवते रमिष्ठ वश इयनि पञ्चते मनि: ।
 ननिश्चतुर्थो हनिरेव पञ्चमो गमिश्च षष्ठः प्रतिषेधवाच्चिनाम् ॥
 द्विहिंदुहिंभेत्तिरोहती कविर्नहिस्तु षष्ठो दहतिस्तथा लिहि: ।
 इमं इनिदाटाविह मुक्तसंशया गणेषु शान्ताः प्रविभज्य कीर्तिताः ॥
 विशिं दृश्य देशिमयो मृशि स्वृशि रिशि रुशि फोशतिमटनं विशिम् ।
 लिशं च शान्ताननिटः पुराणगः पठन्ति पाठेषु दशैव नेतरान् ॥
 रुधिः सराधिर्युधिबन्धिसाधयः कुधिमुखी शुद्ध्यतिबुद्ध्यतो व्यथिः ।
 इमे तु धान्ता इवा येऽनिटो मतास्ततः परं सिद्ध्यतिरेव नेतरे ॥
 शिर्पि पिर्पि शुद्ध्यतिपुद्ध्यती त्विर्पि विर्पि श्रिर्पि तुद्ध्यतिदुद्ध्यती श्रिर्पिम् ।
 इमान्दैश्योपविशान्वनिद्विधो गणेषु शान्तान्कृषिकर्षती तथा ॥
 तपि तपिं चापिमयो वापि स्वपि लिपि लुपि तृप्यति द्रृप्यती सृप्यिम् ।
 स्वरेण नीचेन शापि द्वृपि क्षिर्पि प्रतीहि पान्तान्पठितान्ख्ययोदश ॥
 अति हार्दि स्कन्दिभविदिच्छिद्विलुतीन् शार्दि सार्दि स्विद्यातिपद्यती तिविम् ।
 द्वृपि तु द्वृपि विद्यातिविन्त इत्यपि प्रतीहि दान्तान्दश पञ्च चानिटः ॥
 पर्चिं वच्च विचिरिचिरिचिरिजप्रपृच्छतीन् निर्चिं सिर्चिं सुचिभजिभजिजपृज्ञतीन् ।
 त्वयीं यांच युजिहृजिसक्षिमज्जतीन् भुजिं स्वनिस्तजिमृजी विद्धप्रनिदस्वरान् ॥

(I.) क—शक् 'to be able' (IV. 78, V. 15). शक्ता, शक्षयति

(2.) स्-पस् 'to eat' (I. 747, and also substitute of अद्), as, चस्ता ; वस् 'to dwell' (I. 1054), as वस्ता ॥ The वस् which takes Samprasāraṇa by VI. 1. 15, is meant here, and not वस् 'to cover' (II. 13), which does not vocalise, as वासिता वस्त्राणाम्, but उचितः from वस् 'to dwell' (VII. 2. 52).

(3.) भ—Three roots: रभ् 'to desire' (I. 1023), as, आरधा, यभ् coire (I. 1029), यव्धा, लभ् 'to take' (I. 1024), लव्धा ॥

(4.) ष—Four roots, यम् 'to cease' (I. 1033), यन्ता ; रम् 'to play' (I. 906) रन्ता, नम् 'to bow' (I. 867, 1030) नन्ता, गम्ह् 'to go' (I. 1031) गन्ता ॥

5. न्—Two roots मन् 'to think' (IV. 67), मन्ता, हन् 'to kill' (II. 2), हन्ता !! The Divādi मन् should be taken, otherwise मनिता from मन्—मनुते (VIII. 9).

(6.) छ—Eight roots:—विह 'to smear' (II. 5), देखा; दुह 'to milk' (II. 4).

वैग्या ; मिह् 'to sprinkle' (I. 1041) मीढा, रुह् 'to grow' (I. 912) रोढा ; वह् 'to carry' (I. 1053) बोढा, नह् 'to bind' (IV. 57) नद्धा ; दह् 'to burn' (I. 1041) दम्धा, लिह् 'to lick' (II. 6) लेढा ॥ In other collections सह् (I. 905, IV. 20), मुह् (IV. 89), रिह (VI. 23), लुह् (?), are also enumerated ; of these सह् takes इट् optionally before affixes beginning with क्, so also मुह् because it belongs to the class of रथादि (VII. 2. 45) the other two are not found (?) in root-collections, hence the Kārika uses the words मुक्तसंशयः ॥

(7.) श—Ten roots :—दिश् 'to show' (VI. 3), दश् 'to see' (I. 1037), दश् 'to bite' (I. 1038), मृश् 'to rub' (VI. 131), स्पृश् 'to touch' (VI. 128), रिश् (VI. 126), रुश् (VI. 126) both meaning 'to hurt', विश् 'to enter' (VI. 130), लिश् 'to be small' (IV. 70, VI. 127). As वेष्टा, द्रष्टा, दंष्टा, आम्रष्टा or आमर्द्ध, स्पृष्ट or स्पृष्टा, The roots with a penultimate च् short, which are anudātta in the dhātupāṭha, with the exception of मृच् and दश्, take optionally the augment ए (VI. 1. 59), ॥ रेष्टा, रोष्टा, कोष्टा, प्रवेष्टा, लेष्टा ॥

(8.) ध—Ten roots:—रुध् with अनु, 'to love'. रुध् 'to obstruct' (IV. 65) रोद्धा. राध् 'to accomplish' (IV. 71, V. 16) राद्धा; युध् 'to fight' (IV. 64) योद्धा; बन्ध् 'to bind' (I. 1022), बन्दा; साध् 'to accomplish' (V. 17) साद्धा; कुध् 'to be angry' (IV. 80) कोद्धा, शुध् 'to be hungry' (IV. 81) शोद्धा; शुध् 'to be pure' (IV. 82) शोद्धा, बुध् 'to be aware' (IV. 63) बोद्धा; व्यध् 'to pierce' (IV. 72) व्योद्धा; सिध् 'to be accomplished' (IV. 83) सेद्धा ॥ The roots बुध् and सिध् are exhibited in the above Kārikā with अथवा yikarana (बुद्धाति, सिद्धाति); therefore बुध् and सिध् take इ॒ in other ganas than the Fourth; as बोधिता and सेधिता ॥ There being want of prohibition with regard to निष्ठा, we have बुधितं and सिधितं ॥

(9.) घ-roots. Ten. दिघ् 'to distinguish' (VII. 14) दोदा; पिघ् 'to pound' (VII. 15) पेदा, शुघ् 'to become dry' (IV. 74) शोदा; युघ् 'to be nourished' (IV. 73), पीदा, त्विघ् 'to shine' (I. 1050) त्वेदा, विघ् 'to pervade, to sprinkle' (I. 729, III. 13, IX. 54) वेदा, दिलघ् 'to embrace' (I. 734; IV. 77) द्वेदा; तुघ् 'to be satisfied' (IV. 75) तोदा, दुघ् 'to be sinful' (IV. 76) दोदा. शोक्षयति, द्विघ् 'to hate' (II. 3) हृदा, हृष्यति, कृघ् 'to draw' (I. 1059), VI. 6 both Bhuādi and Tudādi are taken, as the kārikā uses the two forms), भाक्रदा and भाकर्दा ॥

(10.) ए—Thirteen roots : तप् 'to burn' (I. 1034, IV. 51) तप्ता, तप्त्यति, तिप् 'to distil' (I. 385) तेपा, आप् 'to obtain' (V. 14, X. 295) आप्ता; वप् 'to sow' (I. 1052) वप्ता; स्वप् 'to sleep' (II. 59) स्वप्ता; लिप् 'to anoint' (VI. 139) लेप्ता; लुप् (VI. 137) 'to break', लोप्ता ॥ The roots तृप् and वृप् optionally take इ॒, as they belong to रधादि class (VII. 2, 45, Divādi 84–91). The special mention of these two roots in the kārikā, is for the sake of indicating that these roots take अथवा augment; as तप्ता or तर्प्ता, or तर्पिता; ड्रप्ता, or दर्प्ता or दर्पिता ॥ The तृप् and वृप् belonging to Tudādi class, are Udātta and सेद् ॥ सृप् (I. 1032) 'to creep' जप्ता, सर्प्ता; शप् 'to curse' (I. 1049) शप्ता; छुप् 'to touch' (VI. 125) छोप्ता; क्षिप् 'to throw' (IV. 14) खेप्ता ॥

(11.) इ—Fifteen roots. अद् 'to eat' [II. 1] अत्ता; हद् 'to void excrement' (I. 1026) हत्ता; स्कन्द् 'to leap' (I. 1028) स्कन्ता; भिद् 'to break' (VII. 2) भेत्ता, छिद् 'to cut' (VII. 3) छेत्ता; शुद् 'to pound' (VII. 6) शोत्ता, शोक्षयति, शद् 'to perish' (I. 908, VI. 134) शत्ता, सद् 'to sink' (I. 907, VI. 133) सत्ता, स्विद् 'to sweat' (IV. 79) स्वेत्ता ॥ The root is exhibited as स्विद्यति in the above kārikā, showing that the Fourth class root is to be taken, and not the Bhuādi (I. 780), which is udātta and takes इ॒ ॥ पद् 'to go' (IV. 60), पत्ता; खिद् 'to be troubled' (IV. 61, VI. 142, VII. 12) खेत्ता, तुद् 'to strike' (VI. 1) तोत्ता; तुद् 'to impel' (VI. 2) नोत्ता; विद् (IV. 62) वेत्ता ॥ The root विद् is exhibited in the kārikā, as विद्यति and विन्त, therefore, the rule applies to दिवादि and क्रशादि विद् ॥ The Adādi (वेत्ति) and Tudādi (विन्तति) विद् is सेद्, as वेत्तिता विद्यानाम्, वेत्तिताधनस्य ॥

(12.) च—six roots:—पच् 'to cook' (I. 187) पत्ता, पक्षयति; वच् 'to speak' (II. 54) वत्ता, विच् 'to separate' (VII. 5) विवेत्ता; रिच् 'to make empty' (VII. 4) रेत्ता; सिच् 'to sprinkle' (VI. 140) सत्ता; मुच् (VI. 136) 'to loose' मोत्ता ॥

(13.) छ—One root प्रछ् 'to ask' (VI. 120) प्रदा, पक्षयति ॥

(14) इ॑—Fifteen roots :—इ॒ज् ‘to colour’ (I. 865, 1048) रङ्गका; निज् ‘to cleanse’ (III. 11) निर्जन्ति; भज् ‘to honor’ (I. 1047) भन्ना; भङ्ग् ‘to break’ (VII. 16) भङ्गना; भृज् ‘to fry’ (I. 181) भट्टा or भट्टा; व्यज् ‘to quit’ (I. 1035) व्यन्ना; अज् ‘to sacrifice’ (I. 1051) अटा, युज् ‘to join’ (IV. 68, VII. 7) योन्ना; हज् ‘to break’ (VI. 123) रोन्ना; सञ्ज् ‘to adhere’ (I. 1036) सङ्गन्ना, मञ्ज् ‘to be immersed’ (VI. 122) मङ्गन्ना; भुज् ‘to bend’ (VI. 124) ‘to enjoy’ (VII. 17), भोन्ना, स्वज् ‘to embrace’ (I. 1025) परि-स्वन्ना; सृज् ‘to emit’ ‘to create’ (IV. 69, VI. 121) स्रटा; मृज् ‘to cleanse’ (I. 269, II. 57), मार्दा, मर्जिता ॥ The root मृज् is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a long indicatory ऊ, e-s, मृजू शुद्धौ (II. 57). It, therefore, optionally would take इ॒ ॥ Nor does this root take अ॒ augment. The inclusion of this root in the above list is, therefore, questionable. Others read विज् instead of मृज् ॥ The निजादि root विज् is Anit (III. 12) i. e. विज् ‘to separate’ the विज् of Rudhādi takes इ॒ ॥

Why do we say “a monosyllabic root”? Observe अवधीत् ॥ The root is taught as एष with a final अ (II. 4. 42) in order to prevent व्रिद्धि. Why do we say “in upadeśa or Dhātupāṭha”?

The rule will not apply to roots which have become anudātta during evolution i. e. when taking affixes. Therefore, we have पच्यति and लविष्यति with इ॒, but not here, कर्ता कटान्, कर्तुम् ॥

श्रुचकः किति ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्री, उकः, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्री इत्येतस्योगन्तानां च किति प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

Kārikā :—वाच्य ऊर्णोमुवद्धावो यहप्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनम् । आमश प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाच्चेद्वप्यहात् ॥

11. The augment इ॒ is not added to an affix having an indicatory क्, when it comes after the root श्री, or after a monosyllabic root ending in ऊ, ऊ, श्रु or ऋ in the Dhātupāṭha.

As श्रित्वा, श्रितः, श्रितवान् ॥ So also with roots ending in उक् vowels : as श्रुत्वा, श्रुतः, श्रुतवान्; लूत्वा, लूनः, लूनवान्; वृत्वा, वृतः, वृतवान्; तीर्त्वा, तीर्णः, तीर्णवान् ॥

Why ‘श्री and उक् ending roots only’? Observe विवितः ॥ Why having an indicatory क्? Observe श्रवित्, श्रवितुम्, श्रवितव्यम् ॥ Some read two क's in the sūtra and would apply it to the indicatory ग् also, as भृज्ञ (III. 2. 139).

This rule applies to those roots, which have not been enumerated above. In the case of ग् the Nishṭhā will not take इ॒ even by VII. 2. 49 read with VII. 2. 15.

When two क are read in the sūtra, one standing for ग्; there arises a little difficulty of combination. Thus ग् coming after the visarga of उक् would require that the visarga be changed to उ by VI. 1. 114. If ग् be changed to क् (VIII. 4. 55) then also, the visarga required to be changed into upadhamanya by VIII. 3. 37. If the change of ग् into क् (VIII. 4. 55) be considered asiddha

(VIII. 2. 1.), then also the visarga must be changed to उ (VI. 1. 114), and the sūtra should be शुष्कोक्तिः ॥ This, however, is not done as an anomaly allowable in sūtra construction. According to Kāśikā, this difficulty would not at all arise, if in the sūtra ग्लाजिस्थवक्तुः (III. 2. 139), the स्था+आ be taken as compounded into स्था; so that that rule would apply to that स्था which ends in आ, and not to that स्था whose final is changed to ई; so that the form स्थास्तुः is evolved without anomaly: and the affix will be कित् (कृत्तु) and not गित् (गृत्तु). The affix being कित्, the above sandhi difficulty will not arise at all.

The word उपदेश is understood here also, so that the rule will apply to roots which end in उक् vowel, in their original states and not to the transformed base before the affix. Thus तु is a उक्-ending root, which is transformed to सीर् before the Nishtha त ॥ The rule will apply to it, as तीर्णः ॥ If you object saying, that तु ends in long उ and its Desiderative optionally takes इ by VII. 2. 41, and therefore, its Nishtha will always take no इ by VII. 2. 15. we reply, that the option taught in VII. 2. 41 applies to roots ending in long उ; but when the root vowel is changed to ई, it is no longer a उक्-ending root. If you say, the rule of sthānivad bhāva will apply: we say, that that rule is not applicable to अह विधि, and this is an अल्पविधि ॥ Therefore, the word उपदेश should be read into this sūtra. If this be so, the rule ought to apply to आम्, and we could not get the forms जागरितः and जागरितवान् ॥ To explain this we should also read the anuvṛitti of एकाच् into this sūtra. The root ऊर्ण्, however is an exception and is governed by this rule, in spite of its consisting of more than one vowel. Thus पौर्णुतः and प्रोर्णुतवान् ॥

Kārikā :—ऊर्ण् is treated as if it was तु, when the affix उह is to be applied, आम् is to be prohibited, or इह is to be debarred.

सनि ग्रहगुहोश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, ग्रह, गुहोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मह गुह इत्येतयोहगन्तानां च सनि प्रत्यये परत इडागमो न भवति ।

12. The Desiderative affix सन् does not get the augment इह, not only after roots ending in उ, ऊ, उम् and आ, but also after ग्रह and गुह ॥

As जिष्वक्ति, जुष्कति, रुष्कति, लुष्कति ॥ The anuvṛitti of ग्रि is not drawn into this sūtra, as option is allowed regarding it by VII. 2. 49. ग्रह would always get इह, गुह (I. 944) being ऊर्ण् (in the Dhātupāṭha), would have optionally taken इह (VII. 2. 44).

The forms जिष्वक्ति and जुष्कति are thus evolved :—मह + सन् (the affix is कित् by I. 2. 8) = गृह + सन् (VI. 1. 16) = गृइ + सन् (VIII. 2. 31) = गृक् + सन् (VIII. 2. 41) = जिष्वक्ति (VIII. 2. 37). So also with गुह संवरणे, the सन् is कित् here by I. 2. 10.

कुसुभृवस्तुदुस्तुधुवो लिदि ॥१३॥ पदानि ॥ कु, सु, भृ, स्तु, दु, धु, धुवः, लिदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ सृ भृ वृ स्तु द्वृ शु श्वृ इत्येतां लिटि प्रत्यये इडागमो न भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृओषुट् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The Personal endings of the Perfect do not get the augment इ॒, after कृ, सृ, भृ, वृ, स्तु, द्वृ, शु, श्वृ ॥

Thus कृ-चक्रव, चक्रम्; सृ, ससृव, ससृम्; भृ, बभृव, बभृम्; वृभृव, वृभृम्; वृवृव, वृवृमहे; स्तु, तुद्वृव, तुद्वृम्; द्वृ, दुद्वृव, दुद्वृम्; शु; शुलुव, शुलुम्; श्वृ; शुश्वृव, शुश्वृम् ॥ सिद्धे सत्यागमो नियमार्थः; क्राय एव लिघ्निटस्तोर्ये सेत् इति ॥

These roots with the exception of वृ are Anīt by rule VII. 2. 10; their special mention here is for the sake of niyama, namely, these roots alone are Anīt in the Perfect, other roots are all Seṭ in the Perfect. Thus विभिदिव, विभिदिम्, लुलुविव, लुलुविम् ॥ All anudātta roots of the Dhātupāṭha are to be understood, by this rule, to get इ॒ ॥ The affix य of the Perfect gets इ॒ after वृश्च, as the irregular form वृवर्थ in VII. 2. 64, indicates that in the Veda, य does not get इ॒ after वृश्च, but in the secular literature it does. By VII. 2. 63, the य would have got इ॒ after स्तु, द्वृ, शु and श्वृ; that इ॒ is also prohibited by the present sūtra. As तुद्वृय, दुद्वृय, शुश्वृय, शुश्वृय ॥

Vart—इ॒ is added when कृ takes the शुट् augment: as संचस्करिव, संचस्करिम् ॥ The rule VII. 2. 63, applies here also, as संचस्करिय ॥

इवीदितो निष्ठायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव, ईदितः, निष्ठायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरीक्षितश्च निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

14. The Participial affixes त and तवत् (kta and ktavatu), do not get the इ॒ augment after श्वि, and after the root which has an indicatory ई ॥

As शूनः, शूनवान्; ओलेजी (VI. 10),—लग्र, लग्रवान्; ओविजी (VI. 9), उहिग्रः, उहिग्रवान् ॥ The त is changed to न because of the indicatory ओ (VIII. 2. 45). So also शीषी (IV. 42), शीपः, शीपवान् ॥ In the Dhātupāṭha, ढीइ (IV. 27), is classed among ओवित् roots, and it indicates that the Nishṭhā is anīt after it: and ओ is for न-change (VIII. 2. 45) as, उहीनः उहीनवान् ॥ The word निष्ठायाम् governs the following sūtras upto VII. 2. 35.

यस्य विभाषा ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्य धातोर्विभाषा व्यविहिङ्कस्तस्य निष्ठायां परते इडागमो न भवति ॥

15. The Participial-affixes do not take इ॒, after those roots, to which another suffix can optionally be added, with or without this augment ई ॥

That is, a root which is *optionally* Seṭ before other affixes, is *invariably* anīt before Nishṭhā. Thus by VII. 2. 44, वल consonant beginning affixes are *optionally* सेत् after the roots धू &c. The Nishṭhā after धू &c, will be *invariably* anīt. Thus विधूतः, विधूतवान्; गूढः, गूढवान् ॥ By VII. 2. 56, the roots having an indicatory उ, *optionally* are followed by Seṭक्ता ॥ The Nishṭhā after उवित् roots will *invariably* be anīt: as वृश्चः, वृद्ववान् ॥

By the vārtika तनि पवि शरिद्राणां युपसंख्यानम् the roots तन्, पत् and शरिद्रा take optional इ॒ in the Desiderative (VII. 2. 49). Though पत् is a root which thus *optionally* takes इ॒ in the Desiderative, yet its Nishṭhā is always सेद्, for Pāṇini himself has employed the word पतित् in Sūtra II. 1. 24, 38. According to Padamanjari this rule of यस्य विभाषा is anitya and not of universal application. Because had this rule been of universal application then the root कृत् which is *optionally* aniṭ by VII. 2. 57, would be *universally* aniṭ by the present sūtra: and there would be no necessity of reading it with a long ई in the Dhātupāṭha, as कृती छेदने (VI. 141) to make its nishtā aniṭ under VII. 2. 14.

आदितश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदितश्च धातोर्मित्रायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

16. The Participial-affixes do not get इ॒ augment after a root which has an indicatory आ ॥

As जिमिश — मिन्नः, मिन्नवान्; जिक्षिवदा — क्षिवण्वान्; जिष्विवदा — स्विन्नः, स्वित्रवान् ॥ The च implies that other roots not enumerated are to be also included, as भास्वस्तः, वान्तः ॥

This and the sūtra following it could have been made into one, as आदितश्च विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः ॥ The separate making of two sūtras indicates that the rule of यस्य विभाषा (VII. 2. 15), applies with the restrictions and limitations of the rule ordaining 'option', i. e., the prohibition of इ॒ augment, with regard to the participial-affixes is limited by the same conditions, which apply to the optional employment of इ॒ before other affixes in the विभाषा rules (यदुपार्थेविभाषा, तदुपार्थः प्रतिषेधः) ॥ Thus VII. 2. 68 ordains इ॒ optionally to the affix यस् after the roots गम्, हन्, विद् and विश् ॥ The root विद् there is the Tūdādi root meaning 'to acquire'. The rule यस्य विभाषा will apply to this विद् with this meaning: and not to विद् meaning 'to know', the Past Participles of which are विदितः, विवितवान् ॥

विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाव, आदिकर्मणोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे आदिकर्मणि च आदितो धातोर्मित्रायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

17. The participial affixes after roots having an indicatory आ, may optionally take the augment इ॒, when the affixes have an Impersonal sense, or denote the beginning of an action.

Thus मिन्नमनेन or मेवितमनेन, प्रमिन्नः, प्रमेवितः ॥ The Saunāgas optionally make the Nishṭhā set after the root शक्, when the affix has a Passive significance even, as शकितो घटः कर्तुम् or शक्तोः घटः कर्तुम् ॥ Not so, when the affix has Impersonal force, as शक्तमनेन ॥ The root अस् 'to throw' (अस्यति), is followed by सेद् Nishṭhā, when the sense is Impersonal: as असितमनेन; but not when the beginning of action is meant, as अस्तः काण्डः ॥

क्षुब्धस्वान्तध्वान्तलभ्रम्भिष्ठविरिभ्यकाण्टवाढानि मन्थमनस्तमः सक्ताविस्पष्टस्वरा-

नायासभृशेषु ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुत्य, स्वान्त, ध्वान्त लग्न, मिष्ट, विरिद्ध, फाण्ड, बाढानि, मन्थ, मनः, तमः, सक्त, अविस्पष्ट, स्वर, अनायास, भृशेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुत्य स्वान्त ध्वान्त लग्न मिष्ट विरिद्ध काण्ड बाढ इत्येते निपातन्ते वथासंखयं मन्थ मनस्तमः सक्ताविस्पष्ट स्वरानायासभृश इत्येतेष्वयेषु ॥

18. The following words are made without इट augment in the senses given against them :—

1. श्रुत्य: 'a churning stick', 2. स्वान्त: 'the mind', 3. ध्वान्त: 'darkness', 4. लग्न: 'attached', 5. मिष्ट: 'indistinct or unintelligible', 6. विरिद्ध: 'a note or tone', 7. फाण्ड: 'made without an effort or by an easy process', and 8. बाढः: 'excessive'.

When the words have not the above sense, we have 1. श्रुमितं 'disturbed or agitated'. The phrase क्षुब्धो गिरिः or नवी is a metaphorical use of the word. 2. स्वनितः as स्वनितो मृदङ्गः, स्वनितं मनसा ॥ 3. ध्वनितो मृदङ्गः or ध्वनितं मनसा ॥ 4. लग्नितं, 5. मेलच्छितं, (= अपभाषितं) 6. विरेभितं from रेष्ट 'to sound', or विरिभितं from रिभि ॥ 7. फाणितं ॥ फाण्ड is a decoction, prepared without much trouble, by simply slightly heating the substance with some water, without powdering or pasting it. (वद्यूतमण्डं च कथायद्वक्संपर्कमाचाद् विभक्तरसमीषदुष्णां) a medicine for any disease may be administered in five forms :—रसः or essence, कल्पः paste or powder, शृतः decoction or extract, शीतः cold extract prepared by throwing pounded drugs into cold water, and keeping that all night to soak. This watery extract, to be drunk in the morning, is so called. फाण्ड is a similar hot preparation, but for immediate use, when the drugs are put in boiling water and the decoction after purification is ready for use as a drink. 8. बाहितं from बाहु 'to strive'.

धृविशसी वैयात्ये ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धृषि, शसी, वैयात्ये, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वियातस्य भावो वैयात्यम् प्रागल्यमविनीतता ॥ तत्र धृष् शस् इत्येतयोर्मिष्टायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

19. The Participial affix does not get इट augment, after the roots धृष् and शस्, when meaning 'bold, impudent and arrogant'.

As धृषः, विशस्तः ॥ The root धृष् is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as विधृष्य 'to be impudent' (V. 2 2), and as it has an indicatory आ, its past participle would be अनिद् by VII. 2. 16. शस् is शस्य in the Dhātupāṭha (I. 763), and as it has an indicatory उ by VII. 2. 56. read with VII. 2. 15, its Nishṭhā is also Anit. The special mention of these roots here, is for the sake of making a niyama rule: namely, अनिद् only then when meaning 'impudent', and सेद् in other senses: as धारितः, विशस्तः: "धृष् never forms past participle with the force of भाव (Impersonal action) or भाविकम् (beginning of action), and therefore VII. 2. 17 cannot apply to it"—This is Kāśikā. According to Bhattoji Dikṣhit who

quotes Haradatta and Mādhaba, धृत् forms participles in those senses, when option is allowed, as, धृत् or धर्षितं, प्रधृष्टः or प्रधर्षितः not meaning 'impudent'.

दृढः स्थूलबलयोः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दृढः, स्थूल, बलयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दृढ इति निपात्यते स्थूले बलवति चार्ये ॥

20. The irregularly formed Past Participle दृढ means 'stout' and 'strong'.

It is derived from दृह् with क् affix. In other senses, the forms are दैहितम् or दृहितम् ॥ There are two roots one दृह् (I. 769) without nasal, and the other दृह् (I. 770) with the nasal. दृह् can be derived from any one of these by eliding ह्, and the nasal, and changing त् to ढ्, and not adding the augment इ॒ ॥

The difference between स्थूल and बल is that a man may be stout or स्थूल without being strong (बलवान्) and vice versa. The word बल in the sūtra is equal to बलवत्; in fact, the word बल is formed by अच् affix. The irregularity in the formation of दृढ consists in the absence of इ॒ and the elision of ह् (and of क्, if the root दृह् be taken) : and the change of त् into ढ् ॥ This irregular elision of ह् is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule पूर्वचासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1). The form could have been obtained in the regular way by the elision of ढ्, thus: दृह् + त् = दृह् + त् (VIII. 2. 31) = दृह् + ध् = दृह् + ढ् = दृ + ढ् (VIII. 3. 13) = दृढः ॥ But then when ढ् is elided, the rule पूर्वचासिद्धम् will apply, and the forms द्रिमा, द्रढीयान्, द्रढयति could not be obtained. For क् is changed to र् by VI. 4. 161 only when it is laghu or light, but ढ्-lopa being considered asiddha, the क् would be heavy as standing before a conjunct consonant. So also the form परिदृढयाऽगतः could not be obtained: for the णि would not be changed to अश् before स्थप when the क् is not light or laghu (VI. 4. 56). So also, परिदृढस्यापत्यं = पारिहडी (the daughter of Paridṛḍha) could not be formed. For क् being considered guru or heavy, the affix व्यढ् would have come in the feminine (IV. 1. 78).

प्रभौ परिवृढः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभौ, परिवृढः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिवृढ इति निपात्यते प्रभुवेद्वति ॥

21. The irregularly formed परिवृढ means 'Lord'.

This is formed, like दृढ, from वृह् or वृह् ॥ When not having the sense of 'Lord', we have परिवृहितम् and परिवृहितम् ॥

The ह् is elided first as an anomaly. By so doing we can get the forms like परिव्रदयति, परिव्रदय्यगतः; पारिव्रहीकन्या ॥ The form परिव्रदय is formed by स्थप् instead of ktvā ॥ Though the full noun is परिवृढ and णिच् is added to such a noun, yet for the purposes of ktvā it is considered as a compound verb, having परि as upasarga. In fact, णिच् is added to वृह्, and the root becomes ब्रह्मि, and then ktvā is added to this root, and then there is compounding of परि with this word ending in ktvā, and then by the regular process the ktvā is replaced by स्थप् ॥ The general rule is that Derivative roots formed from nouns, like परिवृढ, उत्मनस्, सुमनस् &c which have an upasarga as one of their formative elements,

are treated as if they were compound verbs having those upasargas. The result of this is, that though the full noun is सुमनस्, yet in the derivative verb, सु will be treated as an upasarga, as in ordinary compound verbs. Thus the augment इ in the Imperfect is added after सु and not before it, as स्वमनायत्, उद्भनायत् ॥ The rule is उपसर्गसमानाकारं पूर्वपदं भातुसंज्ञाप्रयोजके प्रत्यये चिर्कीर्तिते पृथक् कियते ॥ The Participial form of these words is therefore with स्वप् and not स्ता, as सुमनाय्य and उभनाय्य ॥ The only exception to this rule is the noun संघाम, in which the upasarga सम् is not considered as a separate member in the Derivative verb. This being the general rule, in परिव्रयति the portion परि is treated as an upasarga, and व्रव्यति as the verb and its accent is governed by तिङ् तिङ् (VIII. I. 28) i. e. it becomes altogether unaccented and परि retains its accent. So also परिव्रद्य, where is परि is compounded with the Participial form व्रवित्वा, and then स्वा is changed to स्वप् by VII. I. 37.

कृच्छ्रगहनयोः कषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृच्छ्र, गहनयोः, कषः, ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्र गहन इत्यत्योर्यथयोः कषेद्वातोर्नद्यायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

22. The Participial affix does not take the augment इट् after the root कष्, when the participle means 'difficult' and 'impenetrable'.

As कषोऽग्निः, कषं व्याकरणं, ततोऽपि कष्टरणिसामानि ॥ "Difficult is Fire-sacrifice i. e. it is difficult to completely master the ritual connected with the worship of fire; and difficult enough is Grammar, but the Sāmāns are worst of all". कषानि बनानि 'impervious forests.' कषाः पर्वताः ॥ When not having these senses, we have कषितं सुवर्णम् ॥

घुषिरविशब्दने ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घुषिः, अविशब्दने ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ घुषेद्वातोर्विशब्दनेर्थे निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

23. The Participial affix does not take the augment इट्, after the root घुष् in any sense other than that of 'proclaimed'.

As घुटा रञ्जुः, घुटो पादौ but अवघुषितं वाक्पमाह ॥ विशब्दन = प्रतिज्ञानम् 'assertion, affirmation, agreement'. घुषिर अविशब्दने is Bhvādi (I. 683), and घुषिर विशब्दने is Churādi (X. 187), both of these are referred to in the sūtra. The prohibition of विशब्दन in the sūtra, indicates by jñāpaka that the णिच् added to the root in the Churādi class in the sense of विशब्दन is anitya. So the following construction becomes valid:-as महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा ज्ञघुषुः घुष्माणवाः "expressed their opinions in words".

In short the णिच् is optionally added to the घुषिर of the Churādi class.

Some say the Churādi णिच् is anitya generally and not only after घुषिर (अनित्यं पवन्ताम्चुरादयः) ॥ This is inferred from the mention of the root चिति स्मृत्याम् (X. 2) in this class. The indicatory इ in चिति shows that the augment

तु॒ व् will be added to the root, which will thus become चिन्त and this न् will be retained throughout and never dropped. (VII. 1. 48). Now had the णिच् been nitya, then the root ought to have been taught as चिन्त स्मृत्याम्, because no rule would have caused the elision of the न् of चिन्त when णिच् was added. The enunciation of the root as चिन्ति, therefore, indicates that the churādi णिच् is anitya, and thus we get the forms like चिन्तितः, चिन्तयात्, चिन्त्यते, चिन्तति, चिन्तेत् &c.

अद्वैः सच्चिदिभ्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहैः, सत्, नि, विभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सं नि वि इत्येतम्य उत्तरस्यार्दिनिष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

24. The Participial affix does not take the इद्, after the root अर्द when it is preceded by सं, नि or वि ॥

As समर्णः, 'plagued' न्यर्णः, व्यर्णः ॥ Why 'of अर्द'? Observe सेत्येतिः ॥ Why 'सं, नि or वि'? Observe अर्दितः ॥

अभेश्चाविद्यूर्ध्ये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, च, आविद्यूर्ध्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभिशब्दादुत्तरस्यार्देवाविद्यूर्ध्ये निष्ठायामिडागमो न भवति ॥

25. The Participial affix does not take the इद्, after अर्द preceded by अभि, when the meaning is that of 'near'.

As अन्यर्णा सेना, अन्यर्णा शरद् ॥ Why 'when meaning near'? See अन्यर्णितो वृष्टलः शीतेन meaning पीडितः ॥ विद्यूर्ध् means 'remote,' that which is not remote is अविद्यूर्ध् 'non-remote,' the state of being non-remote is आविद्यूर्ध्यम् 'non-remote-ness.' The affix अक् is added irregularly, in spite of the prohibition contained in V. 1. 121.

ऐरध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऐः, अध्ययने, वृत्तम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्यन्तस्य वृत्तेनिष्ठायामध्ययनार्थे वृत्तमितीडगमो निष्ठालते ॥

26. The word वृत्त is formed from the causative of वृत्, in the sense of 'studied through or read.'

There is absence of इद् and luk-elision of the causative sign. As वृत्तो शुणो इव इत्तेन 'Devadatta has read or gone through Guṇa.' (शुणः पाठः पश्चात्प्रतिहिता रूपोऽध्ययनविशेषः) ॥ वृत्तं पाठायनं इव इत्तेन ॥ When the sense is not that of 'read', we have वृत्तितम् ॥ The root वृत् is intransitive, and becomes Transitive when employed in the Causative. The participle is formed from this Transitive causative verb, otherwise it could not have governed an object as shown above. "The affix न्त् is added with a Passive force to वृत्, as we find the author himself using this form in निर्वृत्तम् in sūtras IV. 2. 68, and V. 1. 79; on the analogy of निर्वृत्त the word वृत्तः could also have been formed without this sūtra."

वा दान्तशान्तपूर्णदस्तस्पष्टच्छज्जस्ताः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण,
दस्त, स्पष्ट, छज्ज, ज्जस्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऐसित्यतु वृत्तते। इम् शम् पूरी दस् स्पष्ट छज्ज ज्जस्त इत्येततः प्यन्तानां धानूनां वा धनिदत्तं निषालते ॥

27. The following irregularly formed Participles, from the causative roots, may optionally take इ॒, namely, दान्त, शान्त, पूर्ण, दस्त, स्पष्ट, छन्न, इ॒स ॥

These words are formed either from the causative base or from the primary roots इ॒ &c. The other forms are इ॒मितः, इ॒मितः, पूर्तिः, शासितः, स्पाशितः, छावितः; and ज्ञपितः ॥ The words दान्त &c. are formed by the luk-elision of इ॒(Causative), and not taking the इ॒ Augment. By VII. 2. 49 इ॒ optionally is सेद् and, therefore, by VII. 2. 15, its Participle would have been *always* अनिट्, hence, this sūtra makes an option.

रुध्यमत्वरसंघुषास्वनाम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुषि, अम, त्वर, संघुष, आस्वनाम् ॥ वृन्तिः ॥ वैति वर्तते । रुषि अम त्वर संघुष आस्वन इत्येतेषां निष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

28. The Participial affix may optionally get इ॒ augment, after रुष्, अम्, त्वर, संघुष्, and आस्वन् ॥

As रुष्: or रुषितः: ॥ By VII. 2. 48, the affixes after रुष् are *optionally* सेद्, and therefore by VII. 2. 15, the Nishṭhā after this verb would have been *always* अनिट्; hence this optional rule. अभ्यान्तः or अभ्यमितः; तूर्णः or त्वरितः: ॥ The त्वर् is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as भित्वा (I. 812) i. e. with an indicatory long आ, and hence by VII. 2. 16. would have been अनिट् always, this rule makes it optionally अनिट्. So also, संघुष्टौ पादौ, or संघुषितौ पादौ, संघुष्टं or संघुषितं वाक्यमाह, संघुष्टौ or संघुषितौ इम्या ॥ गुष् preceded by सम् will be optionally अनिट्, even when having any sense other than that of 'proclaimed', as this *subsequent* sūtra supersedes VII. 2. 23 so far. So also आस्वान्तः: or आस्वानितौ देवदत्तः, आस्वान्तम् or आस्वानितं मनः: ॥ स्वन् when preceded by आ, though denoting 'mind,' is *optionally* अनिट्, in spite of VII. 2. 18, that rule being superseded so far by this *subsequent* rule.

हृषेलोमसु ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृषेः, लोमसु, ॥

वृन्तिः ॥ लोमसु वर्त्मानस्य हृषेनिष्ठायां वा इडागमो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विस्मितप्रतिघातयोश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Participial affix optionally takes इ॒, after हृष् when the word लोमन् or its synonym is in construction with it.

As हृटानि लोमानि or हृषितानि लोगानि; हृटा: केशः or हृषिता: केशः; हृष्टं or हृषितं लोमभिः or केशैः: ॥ हृष् 'to lie' (I. 741) is exhibited with an indicatory उ in the Dhātupāṭha, and would have been consequently *always* अनिट्, in the Nishṭhā (VII. 2. 15) because it was optionally अनिट् before ktvā (VII. 2. 56) hence this rule. हृष् 'to be delighted' (IV. 119) is also included here, this verb is सेद् ॥ The option appertains to both these verbs. The word लोम means the hair of the body as well as of the head: as in the sentence लोमनखं स्फुटा शौचं कर्तव्यम् ॥ The sense of हृष् in connection with लोम will be that of bristling up, horipillation. Why do

we say "in connection with लोम?" Observe बुद्धो (bhūdhi) देवदत्तः 'the deceived Deva Datta' and द्विदत्तो (Divādi) देवदत्तः 'the delighted Devadatta'.

Vṛtī:—The option is allowed also in the senses of 'astonished' and 'beaten back', as बुद्धो or द्विदत्तो देवदत्तः 'the astonished D'. बुद्धो: or द्विदत्तो दत्ताः 'the bent or destroyed teeth'.

अपचितश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपचितः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपचित इति वा निपात्यते । अपपूर्वस्य चायतेनिर्दायामनिदत्तं चिभावनं निपात्यते । चार्तिकम् ॥ नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

30. And अपचित has also a second form with the augment इ ॥

The word अपचित is formed with the preposition अप added to the root चाय (I. 929) 'to honor, to fear, to see' and चाय changed irregularly to चि before चक् ॥ The other form is अपचायितः, as अपचितो or अपचायितो इनेनयुक्तः 'the teacher is feared by him'. This example is given when the sense is that of 'fear'; when the word means 'honor', then the participle must govern the genitive case, as required by III. 2. 188.

Vṛtī:—Before नित्य �affix, चाय is always changed to चि, as अपचितिः 'Loss, destruction, showing reverence'. The affix नित्य is added to चाय, by considering it as belonging to the class of आप् &c. See III. 3. 94 *Vṛtī*. Otherwise it would take the affix अ by III. 3. 103.

हु॒ ह्वे॒श्छन्दसि॑ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ हु॒ ह्वे॒ः, छन्दसि॑ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्वरतेर्द्धातोर्निर्दायां छन्दसि हु॒ इत्ययमावेशो भवति ।

31. हु॒ is substituted for ह्व॒र (I. 978) in the Veda, before the Participial-affix.

As हुतस्य चाहुतस्य च, अहुतमसि हविर्धानम् (Vaj. San. I. 9). But हृतम् in secular literature.

अपरिहृत्वताश्च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ अपरिहृताः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिहृता इति निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये । हु॒ इत्येतस्यदेशस्याभागो निपात्यते ।

32. The word 'aparihvritā' is irregularly formed in the Veda.

The हु॒ substitution required by the last sūtra, does not take place here. As अपरिहृताः सत्याम वाजम् (Rig I. 100. 19).

सोमे हृतिः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ सोमे, हृतिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृतित इति ह्वरतेर्निर्दायामिडागमो शुणश्च निपात्यते छन्दसि विषये, सोमेऽवृत्ति ।

33. हृतित is irregularly formed from हु॒ in the Veda, by guṇa substitution and इ॒ द् augment, when it refers to Soma.

As मा नः सोमो हृतितो, विहृतिस्त्वम् ॥

असितस्कमितस्तमितोचमितचत्तविकस्ता विशस्तुशंस्तुशास्त्रतरुतरुवरुवरुव-
रुतरुवरुबीरुज्जवलिति क्षरिति क्षमिति वमित्यमितीति च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ असित,
स्कमित, स्तमित, उत्तमित, चत्त, विकस्त, विशस्तु, शंस्तु, शास्तु, तरुत, तरुत,
वरुत, वरुत, वरुबीः, उज्जवलिति, क्षरिति, क्षमिति, वमिति, अमिति, इति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असित स्कमित स्तमित उत्तमित चत्त विकस्त विशस्तु शंस्तु शा स्तु तरुत तरुत वरुत वरुत वरुबीः
उज्जवलिति क्षरिति क्षमिति वमित्यमिति इत्येतानि छन्दसि निपात्यन्ते ।

34. In the Veda, the following irregular forms are found, some with, and some without the augment इ॒—1
grasita, 2 skabhita, 3 stabhita, 4 uttabhita, 5 chatta, 6 vikasta,
7 viśastri, 8 śānstri, 9 śāstri, 10 tarutri, 11 tarūtri, 12 varutri,
13 varūtri, 14 varūtrih, 15 ujjvaliti, 16 kshariti, 17 kshamiti,
18 vamiti and 19 amiti.

Of the above nineteen words, 1, 2, 3, and 4 are from roots श्वु, 'to swallow' (I. 661) स्कम्भु 'to stop' (I. 414) and स्तम्भु (I. 413) all having an indicatory उ, and therefore by VII. 2. 56 read with VII. 2. 15, their Nishṭhā would not have taken इ॒ ॥ Thus असित् (ver. अस्त) वा एतत् सोमस्य ॥ विष्कमिते अजेर (=विष्कव्यः); येन स्तम्भितम् (=स्तम्भयम्), सत्येनोच्चमिता भूमिः (=उत्तम्यः) ॥ The irregularity is only with the preposition उत्, with other prepositions, the form स्तमित is not employed. Similarly (5) चत्ता (=चतिता) वर्षेण विश्वत् from चते याचने ॥ (6) उत्तानाया हृव्यं यह विकस्तम् (=विकसितम्) The forms, 7 8, and 9 are from the roots श्वु हिंसायाम and श्वु स्तुतौ, and श्वु अनुशिष्टौ with the affix तृच् and no augment; as एकस्त्वदुरव्यविशस्ता (=विशस्ता), उत शंस्ता सुविमः (=शास्ता), प्रशास्ता (=प्रशासितम्) ॥ The forms 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 are from the roots त् and त् (वृह् and वृह्), with the affix तृच्, and the augment उ॒ and ऊ॒ ॥ As तस्तारं or तस्तारं रथानाम् (=तस्तिराम् or तस्तिराम्), वस्तारम् or वस्तारम् रथानाम् (=वस्तिराम् or वस्तिराम्); वरुबीद्वा वैविवेष्यावती ॥ वरुबीः is exhibited in this form of Nom. pl. of the feminine वरुबी merely for the sake of showing one form in which it is found: another form is अहोरात्राणि वैवरुबीयः ॥ Here the plural is formed irregularly, by taking the word as वरुबी ॥ The feminine form could have been easily obtained from वरुत्, by adding डी॒, the special mention is explanatory. The rest 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 are from उत्-ज्ञल, क्षर, क्षम, वम्, and अम्, formed with the vikaraṇa शप् and the affix of the 3rd Per Sing तिप्, ह॒ being substituted for अ॒ of शप्, or शप् is elided and the augment इ॒ is added ॥ As अमिनस्त्रज्ज्ञलिति (=उत्-ज्ञलिति), स्तामं क्षमिति (=क्षमिति), स्ताकं क्षरिति (=क्षरिति), वः सोमं वमिति (=वमात्), अम्यमिति वरणः (=अम्यमाति) ॥ Sometimes we have अम्यमात, as राम्यम्यमीति ॥

आर्द्धधातुकस्येऽब्लादेः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदादि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकस्य, इ॒, वलादेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसीति निवृत्तम् । आर्द्धधातुकस्य वलविरेडागमो भवति ।

35. An *ārdhadhâtuka* affix (III. 4. 114 &c) beginning with a consonant (except य), gets the augment इ॒ (in these rules).

Thus लविता, लवितुम्, लवितव्यम्, पविता, पवितुम्, पवितव्यम्॥ Why 'ārdhadhātuka'? Observe आस्ते, वस्ते॥ The niyama rule of VII. 2. 76 ordaining इ॒॒ augment to sārvadhātuka affixes of Rudādi verbs, would prevent इ॒॒ augment before sārvadhātuka affixes when coming after other roots. The employment of ārdhadhātuka here can be dispensed with. Why before affixes beginning with a बळ-consonant? Observe लव्यम्, पव्यम्, लवनीयम्, पवनीयम्॥ Though the anuvritti of इ॒॒ was understood here, its repetition is for the sake of preventing the prohibition of the foregoing sūtras like VII. 2. 8.

स्तुकमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, क्रमोः, अनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नियमार्थभिवृत् । स्तुकमोरार्द्धधातुकस्य वलादैरिदागमो भवति, न चेष्टुकमौ आत्मनेपदस्य निमित्तं भवतः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रमस्त कर्त्तर्यात्मनेपदविद्याउपस्थापनेपदे कृति प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

The roots स्तु and कस् are udātta, and will get इ॒ augment naturally, the sūtra makes a restriction or niyama. The restriction is that when the roots themselves occasion atmanepada affixes, then they do not take इ॒, otherwise they will.

When do roots give occasion to Atmanepada affixes? The roots occasion atmanepada affixes when employed in the Impersonal, Passive, and Intensive senses. Sutras I. 3. 38-43, teach us when क्रम takes Atmanepada affixes. Thus प्रस्ताविता, प्रस्तवितुम्, प्रस्तवितव्यम्, प्रकामिता, प्रकमितुम्, प्रकमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not the occasion of getting the Atmanepada affixes'? Observe, प्रस्तावीट, प्रकंसीट, प्रस्तोष्यते, प्रकंस्यते, प्रस्तुविष्यते, प्रचिक्रंसिष्यते ॥ In all these examples स्तु and क्रम् have become the causes of taking the Atmanepada affixes. The Desiderative is also Atmanepadi because of I. 3. 62.

Why have we used the word निमित्त in the sūtra? Would it not have been simpler to say सुक्रमात्मनपदे? This form of sūtra would have indicated that whenever an ātmanepada affix followed, then there would be no इत् augment. Now the rule is that all words exhibited in the Locative case in this Grammar, have the force of परस्परी, i. e. when that word *follows*. Therefore आत्मनपदे would mean when an ātmanependa affix followed. If then this "ātmanepada" be taken as qualifying सु and क्रम्, then it must follow *immediately* after those roots, as in प्रस्तोषीष्ट and प्रक्रंतीष्ट; but we would not get the forms प्रस्तोष्यते and प्रक्रस्यत, because स्य intervenes between the atmanepada and the

affix. On the other hand if "atmanepada" be taken to qualify the word "Ardhadhātuka affix" understood, viz, if the sūtra meant सुकमित्यां परस्यार्थातुकस्यात्मनपदे-उत्तर, then the forms प्रस्तोष्यते and प्रकृत्यते would be valid, but we should not get the forms प्रस्तोषी॒॑ and प्रकृती॒॑, because the augment सीयु॒॑ is a portion of the ātmanepada affix, and there is no ārdhdhātuka affix here. If the sūtra be taken to have both the above senses, then we could not get the form प्रचिकंसिष्यते in the Desiderative, because here the ātmanepada does not follow immediately after the sārvadhātuka affix that follows क्रम् ॥ Therefore, the word निमित्त should be taken. For by so doing, there takes place prohibition with regard to सायुष &c, and also with regard to that after which comes the ātmanepada, as the स्य in प्राचकंसिष्यते, and also with regard to that which precedes the latter, as the सन् affix in the above. In प्रस्तवित्रीयते (प्रस्तवितेवाचरात्), the root स्तु has not occasioned the ātmanepada affix, but the affix व्यहृ, hence the prohibition of this sūtra does not apply.

Vart.—Prohibition of इ �augment should be stated with regard to क्रम् when an Kṛit-affix, with active force, follows not in the ātmanepada, though in the Active voice such क्रम् was subject of Atmanepada. When क्रम् takes no upasargas, we have according to one view two forms क्रन्ता and क्रमिता (I. 3. 43) because the ātmanepada here is optional. According to the other view there will be only one form, as क्रामता ॥ But with म् and उप् we have प्रक्रन्ता and उपक्रन्ता ॥ Why do we say 'the Kṛit-affix should have an active force'? Observe प्रक्रमितव्यम्, उपक्रमितव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "when it was subject of ātmanepada"? Observe निष्क्रमिता ॥ Here there is इ �augment; for by I. 3. 42, क्रम् is subject of atmanepada, when the upasargas म् and उप् precede, but not otherwise.

With regard to स्तु, it will take no इ in the Desiderative, and before a क्रित् affix, by virtue of VII. 2. 11 and 12. Therefore, we have the forms प्रस्तुत्यति, प्रस्तुतः, प्रस्तुतवान् ॥

ग्रहो उलिटि दीर्घः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहः, अ लिदि, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मह उत्तरस्य इ उलिटि दीर्घो भवति ।

37. The augment इ added to valādi ārdhadhātuka affixes, becomes lengthened, except in the Personal endings of the Perfect, after the root ग्रह ॥

As महीता, महीतुर्, महीतव्यम् ॥ Why not in the Perfect? Observe जग्हिव जग्हिम् ॥ The lengthening takes place of the इ taught in VII. 2. 35, and does not refer to the चिण्वद् इ of VI. 4. 62 : as ग्राहिता, महिष्यते ॥

वृतो वा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृतः वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृ इति वृड्वर्तोः सामान्येन महणं तस्मादुत्तरस्य चक्रारान्तेभ्येषदो वा दीर्घा भवति ।

38. The इ is optionally lengthened after वृहृ, वृश्च and after roots ending in long ऋ, except in the Perfect.

As वरिता । वरीता । प्रावरिता । प्रावरीता ॥ छूकारान्तेभ्यः । तरिता । तरीता । आस्तरिता । आस्तरीता ॥ वृत् इति किम् । करिष्यति हरिष्यते । अलिदीत्यव । ववरिथ । तेरिथ ॥ Why do we say 'after इ and long छू ending roots'? Observe करिष्यति and हरिष्यते ॥ Why do we say except in the Perfect? Observe ववरिथ and तेरिथ ॥

न लिङ्गि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लिङ्गि ॥

वृणिः ॥ वृत् उत्तरस्य इटो लिङ्गि वीर्यो न भवति ।

39. The इ॒ is not lengthened after the same roots वृ॑, and छू॑ ending roots, in the endings of the Benedictive.

As विवरिषीष, प्रावरिषीष, आस्तरिषीष, विस्तरिषीष ॥

सिच्चि च परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सिच्चि, च, परस्मैपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदपरे सिच्चि वृत् उत्तरस्य इटो वीर्यो न भवति ।

40. The इ॒ is not lengthened after वृ॑ and छू॑ ending roots, in the s-Aorist of the Parasmaipada.

As प्रावारिटाम्, प्रावारिषुः, अतारिटाम्, from नृ श्वनतरणयोः ॥ आस्तारिटाम्, आस्तारिषुः, from स्तूङ् आच्छादने; but प्रावरिट, प्रावरीट in the Atmanepada.

इ॒ सनि वा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इ॒, सनि, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्: सनो वा इडागमो भवति ।

41. The Desiderative स् may optionally take इ॒ (which is optionally lengthened also) after the said वृ॑ and छू॑ ending roots.

As इवूर्धति । विवरिषते । विवरीषते । प्रावूर्धति । प्राविवरिषति । प्राविवरीषति । छूकारान्तेभ्यः । तितीर्षति । तितरिषति । तितरीषति । आतिस्तीर्षति । This Parasmaipada form is not valid, according to Padamanjari. आतिस्तरिषति । आतिस्तरीषति । सनि शहयुइत्येति इ॒प्रतिष्ठेष्यं पास्ते पक्षे इडागमो विधीयते । इटश्च वृतो वेति पक्षेशीर्यः । चिकीर्षति जिहीर्षति इवत्रोपदेशोधिकाराहाश्च-गिकत्वाच्च इडागमो न भवति ॥

The इ॒ was prohibited by VII. 2. 12, in case of the Desideratives, hence this sūtra: when इ॒ is added, it may be lengthened by VII. 2. 38. The augment इ॒ however is not added in चिकीर्षति and जिहीर्षति, as they are formed from कृ 'to do' and ह् 'to lose', which do not take इ॒ at all. Because here, though the short छू॑ is lengthened before सन्, by VI. 4. 16, yet such lengthening will not make the roots long छू॑ ending roots. Because the anuvṛitti of the word upadeśa is understood here from VII. 2. 10, so that the rule applies to those roots only which in 'upadeśa' or Dhātupāṭha end in long छू॑ and not those whose छू॑ is lengthened by some Grammatical rule. Moreover, the long छू॑ in कृ and ह् is temporary only, as it is replaced by long ई॑ (See VI. 4. 16, for lengthening). The Desiderative of कृ—चिकरिषति, however, does not lengthen its vowel (VII. 2. 75).

लिङ्गसिचोरात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्ग्, सिचोः, आत्मनेपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गि सिचि च आत्मनेपदे परे वा इडागमो भवति ।

42. The इ॒ is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and s-Aorist, after the श् and श्व् ending roots.

As शुष्टीष्ट or श्वशीष्ट, प्रायुषीष्ट (I. 2. 12 no guna) प्रावरिषीष्ट, आस्तरिषीष्ट, आस्तीषीष्ट ॥ सिचिखल्पि, अवृत्, अवरिष्ट, अवरीष्ट, प्रायृत्, प्रावरिष्ट, आस्तीष्ट, आस्तरिष्ट ॥ आत्मनपदेष्विति किम्, ? प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ लिङ्गः प्रस्तुवाहरणं न इश्वितमसंभवाविदो ऽवलाविष्वाविति ॥

Why in the Atmanepada? Observe प्रावारिष्टाम्, प्रावारिषुः ॥ No counter-examples of Benedictive Parasmaipadi are given, as the affixes not being यलादि, the इ॒ can never be added to them.

ऋतश्च संयोगादेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, च, संयोगादेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अदृताद्वातोः संयोगादेष्वत्तरयोर्लिङ्गसिचोरात्मनेपदेषु वा इडागमो भवति ।

43. The इ॒ is optionally added to the endings of the Atmanepada Benedictive and S-Aorist, after a root, which ends in short श्, which is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

As ध्वृष्टीष्ट or ध्वरिषीष्ट ; स्मृष्टीष्ट, or सरिषीष्ट ; अध्वृशाताम्, or अध्वरिषाताम् ; अस्मृशाताम्, or अस्सरिषाताम् ॥ अहत इति किम् । च्छोषीष्ट, ह्लोषीष्ट ; अच्छोषीष्ट, अह्लोषीष्ट ॥ संयोगादेष्विति किम् । कृषीष्ट, हृषीष्ट ; अकृत्, अहृत् ॥ आत्मनेपदेष्वित्येव । अध्वार्षीत्, अस्मार्षीत् ॥ संस्कृषीष्ट समस्कृतेत्यत्रोपदेशाधिकारादभक्त्याच्युद्धु इडागमो न भवति ॥

Why ending in short श्? Observe च्छोषीष्टैः, ज्ञच्छोषीष्टैः, श्लोषीष्टैः and अह्लोषीष्टैः ॥ Why 'beginning with a conjunct consonant'? Observe लृषीष्ट, हृषीष्ट, अकृत् and अहृत् ॥ Why 'in the Atmanepada'? Observe अध्वार्षीत्, अस्मार्षीत् ॥ In संस्कृषीष्ट and समस्कृत् there is not इ॒, first because स्कृ (the form assumed by कृ with शुद् augment) is not so enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha ; the word upadeśa VII. 2. 10, is understood here ; so that the rule applies to those roots only which in the Dhātupāṭha are श् ending and preceded by conjunct consonant ; and secondly' शुद् augment is considered as not attached to the root (VI. I. 135), and therefore स्कृ is not considered a root beginning with a conjunct consonant.

स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूयूदितो वा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरति, सूति, सूयति, धूञ्ज, ऊदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरति सूति सूयति धूञ्ज इत्येतेभ्य ऊदिद्यञ्चोन्नरस्य वलावैरार्द्धधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ।

44. A Valādi-ārdhadhātuka affix optionally takes इ॒, after sv̄ti, after the two roots सू (sūti and sūyati), after धूञ्ज्, and after a root which has an indicatory long ऊ ॥

As स्वरिता or स्वर्ता ॥ प्रसोता, प्रसदिता ॥ सूयति, सौता, सविता ॥ धूञ्ज्, धोता, धविता ॥ ऊविज्ञप्तः खल्पिणि । गाहू, विगाहा, विगाहिता ; गृपू, गोपा, गोपिता ॥ वेति वर्त्तमाने पुनर्वायहरणं लिङ्गसिचोर्निवृत्यर्थम् । सूतिसूयत्योर्बिकरणनिर्देशः पू प्रेरणइत्यस्य निवृत्यर्थः । धूञ्जिति सानुबन्धकस्य निर्देशो धू

विधूननइत्यस्य निवृत्त्यर्थः । सविता धवितेत्येव निलमेतयोर्मवति । स्वरतेरेतस्मादिकल्पाहृदनोः स्यइत्येतद्-
वति विप्रतिष्ठेन । स्वरिष्यति । किति तु प्रत्येये शुधकः कितीति नित्यः प्रत्येषो भवति पूर्वप्रतिष्ठेन ॥
स्वृत्वा, सूत्वा, धूत्वा ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of वा was current, the second employment of वा is to stop the anuvṛitti of the Benedictive and the S-Aorist. The roots सू of Adādi (21) and Divādi (24) are to be taken, as the special forms सूति and सूयति indicate, and not the सू of the Tudādi (115) class. The य् is exhibited with the anubandha य्, in order to exclude धू विधूनने of Tudādi (105). In the case of these latter the इ �augment is invariable, as सविता and धविता ॥ The root सू takes invariably इ in the Future, by virtue of the subsequent superseding rule VII. 2. 70, as स्वरिष्यति ॥ And before कित् affixes, the prior rule VII. 2. 11, invariably debars इ, as स्वृत्वा, सूत्वा, धूत्वा ॥

रथादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ-आदिध्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथ हितासंसिद्धारित्येवमाहिभ्यो द्वाय उत्तरस्य बलाद्विराज्ञधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ॥

45. A valādi-ārdhadhātuka affix optionally takes इ उपरि after रथ् and the seven roots that follow it (Divādi. 84 to 91).

As रथिता or रथा ; नंटा, (VII. 1. 60 नुम्) नशिता ; चप्ता, (VI. 1. 59 अम्) तर्पा, तर्पिता : द्रप्ता, दर्पा, दर्पिता ; द्रोग्धा, द्रोढा, (VIII. 2. 33) द्रोहिता ; माप्ता, मोढा, मोहिता ; ज्ञोढा, ज्ञोहिता, योप्ता, योग्धा, योढा, योहिता ॥

Some hold that the रथादि roots *optionally* take इ in the Perfect Tense also, because the present sūtra being subsequent to VII. 2. 13, debars that sūtra so far. Others hold that the रथादि roots will *always* take इ in the Perfect, because the former rule VII. 2. 13 is stronger than the present, in as much as that is a prohibitory rule. So they form रथन्ति and रथन्तम् ॥

निरः कुषः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरः, कुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर इत्येवपूर्वान् कुष उत्तरस्य बलाद्विराज्ञधातुकस्य वा इडागमो भवति ॥

46. A valādi-ārdhadhātuka affix gets optionally the augment इ, after कुष् when it is preceded by निर् ॥

As निष्कोष्टा or निष्कोषिता, निष्कोष्टुम् or निष्कोषित्युम्, निष्कोष्टव्यम् or निष्कोषितव्यम् ॥ But only कोषिता, कोषितुं, कोषितव्यम् without निर् ॥ The exhibition of निर् instead of निस् indicates the existence of a separate and distinct preposition निर्, besides निस् ॥ It is the र् of this निर् which is changed to ल् by VIII. 2. 19, in निलयनम्; for the र् of निस् being asiddha could not be changed to ल् ॥

इनिष्टायाम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इ, निष्टायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरः कुषो निष्टायामिडागमो भवति ।

47. The augment इ is added to the Participial affixes त and तवत्, after कुष् preceded by निर् ॥

As निष्कुषितवान्, निष्कुषितः ॥ The special mention of इ in the sūtra is for the sake of making its addition invariable, otherwise it would have been

optional, or debarred by VII. 2. 15. In the subsequent sūtra, the addition becomes again optional.

तीषसहलुभृपरिषः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, इष, सह, लुभ, रुष, रिषः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादाद्वधातुके इहु सह लुभ रुष रिष् इव्येतेभ्या वा इडागमो भवति ।

48. An ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a त may optionally take the इट, after the roots इष्, सह्, लुभ्, रुष् and रिष् ॥

As एटा or एषिता ॥ The इष् 'to wish' (VI. 59) is taken here, and not the इष् (IV. 19. IX. 53) of the Divādi and Kryādi class. Of the Divādi इष् 'to send, to go' we have invariably प्रेषिता, प्रेषितुं, प्रेषितव्य; and the इष् 'to repeat' of the Kryādi is governed also by this rule and has the same forms. Therefore some read the anuvṛitti of उवित् into this sūtra. सह । सोदा । सहिता । लुभ । लाभिता । लंधा । रुष । रोषिता । रिष् । रेषा । रेषिता ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a त'? Observe एषिष्यति ॥

सनीवन्तद्व्यभस्तजदम्भुश्रिस्वृयूर्णु भरज्ञपिसनाम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, इवन्त, ऋष्य, भ्रस्ज, दम्भ, श्रि, स्वृ, यु, ऊर्णु, भर, ज्ञपि, सनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवान्तानाम धातूनाम् । ऋष्य भ्रस्ज दम्भु श्रि स्वृ यु ऊर्णु भर ज्ञपि सन् इव्येतर्षां च सनि वा इडागमो भवति ।

49. The desiderative स् may optionally take इट, after a root ending in इव्, and after ऋष्यु, भ्रस्ज, दम्भु, श्रि, स्वृ, यु, ऊर्णु, भृ, ज्ञप्, and सन् ॥

Thus विवेषति or दुद्युषति, सिसेविषति, सुस्युषति ॥ ऋष्, अर्हिषिषति, ईर्षति ॥ भ्रस्ज, विभ्रजिषति, (VI. 4. 47) विभ्रक्षात्, (VIII. 2. 36 and 41) विभर्जिषति, विभर्क्षति ॥ दम्भु, विद्यन्मिषति, धिन्मिषति, (VII. 4. 56) धीप्तसति, श्रि, उच्छिष्यविषति, उच्छिष्योषाति ॥ स्वृ, सिस्वारिषति, सुस्वृष्टिति ॥ यु, विथविष्यति, (VII. 4. 80) युद्युषति, ऊर्णु, प्रेष्णुनविषति, प्रेष्णुतुषिषति, प्रेष्णुष्युषति, ॥ The root भृ॒श् of the Bhūādi class is to be taken, as the form भर with श॑प् in the sūtra indicates. विभर्तिषति, दुभूर्षति, ॥ ज्ञपि, ज्ञज्ञपविषति, ज्ञीप्तसति ॥ सन्, सिसनिषति, सिषासति ॥ केषिद्वभरज्ञपिसनितनिषतिद्विद्विद्वाणामिति पठन्ति, ॥ तितनिषति, तितंसति, तितांसति, पिषतिषति, पित्सति, विद्वर्त्रिषति, द्विद्विद्वासति ॥ सनीति किम्, देविता, भटा ॥

Some add तन्, पत् and द्विद्वा also, as तितनिषति or तितंसति or तितांसति, (VI. 4. 17) पिषतिषति or पित्सति (VII. 4. 54, VIII. 2. 29. VII. 4. 58) विशिद्वेषति or विशिद्विद्वासति ॥ Why do we say 'Desiderative'? Observe देविता, भटा ॥ The form अर्हिषिषति is thus evolved. The Desiderative root is अर्हिसं, the ऋ being gunated by VII. 3. 86 before सन् ॥ Now we reduplicate it, and the second syllable धिस् will be reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. and the रेष् is not duplicated by VI. 1. 3: so we get धिस् to reduplicate, and ध् is changed to द् ॥ The form ईर्षति is thus evolved. By VII. 4. 55, the ऋ is changed to long ई, which is followed by द् by I. 1. 57. Thus we have ईर्ष् as root, and द्वृ is reduplicated, and the reduplicate is elided (VII. 4. 58). The forms धिप्तसति and धीप्तसति are similarly formed.

क्लिशः क्लानिष्टयोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लिशः, त्वा, निष्टयोः ॥ ५० ॥
वृत्तिः । क्लिशः क्लानिष्टयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

50. The affixes *ktvā*, क् and क्वतु, may optionally take इट after क्लिश् ॥

As क्लिश्वा or क्लिश्वत्वा, क्लिष्टः or क्लिशितः, क्लिष्टवान् or क्लिशितवान् ॥ क्लिश् (ix. 50) having an indicatory उ would have optionally taken इट before *ktvā* by VII. 2. 44, but then the Nishṭhā affixes by VII. 2. 15 would never have taken the augment. क्लिश् (Divādi 52) उपत्यं, being anudātta would *always* have taken इट before *ktvā* and Nishṭhā. Hence this rule ordains option with regard to *ktvā*.

पूडश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूडः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूडश्च क्लानिष्टयोर्वा इडागमो भवति ।

51. The affixes *ktvā*, क् and क्वतु optionally get इट after पूड ॥

As पूल्वा or पवित्र्वा, सोमेतिपूतः, सोमेतिपवितः पूतवान् or पवितवान् ॥ This allows option where by VII. 2. 11 there would have been prohibition. See I. 2. 22.

वसतिक्षुधोरिट् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसति, क्षुधोः, इट ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसते: क्षुधेश्च त्वानिष्टयोर्विडागमो भवति ।

52. The affix *ktvā*, *kta* and *ktavatu* always receive the augment इट after वस् (वसति) and क्षुध् ॥

As उषित्वा, उषितः and उषितवान्, क्षुधित्वा, क्षुधितः, क्षुधितवान् ॥ The वस् of the Adādi class will get इट as it is enumerated in the list of सेट roots. The repetition of इट shows that the rule is invariable, the 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra does not affect it.

अञ्जे: पूजायाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्जे:, पूजायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जे: पूजायामर्थे त्वानिष्टयोर्विडागमो भवति ।

53. The affixes *ktvā*, *kta* and *ktavatu* take the augment इट after the root अञ्ज्, when meaning 'to honor or do something to show honor'.

As अञ्जित्वा जानु जुहोति, अञ्जितता अस्य गुरवः (III. 2. 188, VI. 4. 30, II. 3. 67) By VII. 2. 56 अञ्जु would optionally have caused इट to come before *ktvā*, and hence by VII. 2. 15 never before the Nishṭhā. This sūtra ordains invariable addition of this augment. Why do we say when meaning 'to honor'? Observe उदन्तक्षुश्वर्कं कृपान्, 'the water is raised from the well'.

लुभो विमोहने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुभः, विमोहने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुभो विमोहनर्थे वर्तमानात् त्वानिष्टयोर्विडागमो भवति ।

54. The affixes *ktvā*, *kta* and *ktavatu* take इट after the root लुभ् (Tud. 22) when meaning 'entangled or confused'.

As लुभित्वा and लोभित्वा, विलुभितः केशः, विलुभितः सीमन्तः, विलुभितानि पदानि ॥ विमोहनं = भाकुरीकरणं ॥ By VII. 2. 48 लुभ would have optionally caused इ उपर्युक्त to come before ktvā, and then by VII. 2. 15 the Nishṭhā would never have been सेद् ॥ Hence this sūtra. Why do we say when meaning 'to entangle'? See लुभः वृषलः = शीतेन पीडितः, ॥ लुभ 'to be greedy' (Div. 128) is not governed by this rule, but by VII. 2. 48. As लुभित्वा or लोभित्वा and लुभित्वा (I. 2. 26) ॥

जूव्रश्चोः किं ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जू, व्रश्चोः, किं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जू ब्रिधि इत्येतयोः स्ताप्रत्यये इडागमो भवति ।

55. The affix ktvā takes the augment इ, after जू and व्रश्च ॥

As जरित्वा or जरीत्वा, (VII. 2. 38) and व्रभित्वा ॥ जू was prohibited by VII. 2. 11. and व्रश्च would have been optionally सेद्, as it has an indicator long क, by VII. 2. 44. Hence this rule. The special mention of ktvā, stops the anuvṛitti of kta and ktavatu.

उदितो वा ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदितः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदितो धातोः स्ताप्रत्यये परतो वा इडागमो भवति ।

56. The इ is optionally the augment of ktvā, after a root which has an indicator short उ ॥

As राष्ट्र—शमित्वा or शान्त्वा; तष्ट्र—तमित्वा or तान्त्वा; इष्ट्र—समित्वा or दान्त्वा ॥

से असिच्चि कृतचृतच्छृदत्तदनृतः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ से, असिच्चि, कृत, चृत, चृद्, तृद्, नृतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारादावसिच्चार्द्धधातुके कृत चृत छृद तृद नृत इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा इडागमो भवति ।

57. An ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a स् (except सिच्चि the characteristic of the s-Aorist) may optionally take the augment इ, after the verbs कृत्, (Tud 141, Rudh. 11) चृत्, (Tud. 35) छृद् (Rudh. 8) तृद् (Tud. 9) and नृत् (Div. 9).

As कर्त्त्विति, अकर्त्त्वित्, चिकृत्विति कर्त्तिष्यति, अकर्तिष्यत् चिकर्त्तिष्यति । चृत्, चर्त्त्विति अचर्त्त्वित्, चिचृत्विति, चात्त्विति, अचात्त्वित्, चिचात्त्विति । छृद्, छर्त्त्विति अछर्त्त्वित्, चिछृत्विति । तृद्, तर्त्त्विति, अतर्त्त्वित्, तितृत्त्विति, तर्हिष्यति । अतर्हिष्यत्, तितर्हिष्यति । नृत्, नर्त्त्विति, अनर्त्त्वित्, निनृत्त्विति, नर्हिष्यति । अनर्हिष्यत्, निनर्हिष्यति ।

Why do we say 'beginning with a स्'? Observe कर्त्तिता ॥ Why असिच्चि? Observe अकर्त्तिता ॥

गमेरिद् परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमेः, इ, परस्मैपदेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्द्वातोः सकारादावर्द्धधातुकस्य परस्मैपदेष्विडागमो भवति ।

इष्टिः ॥ भास्त्रनेपदेन समानपदस्य गमेरयमिडागमो नेष्वते ॥

58. An ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a स् gets the इ augment, after गम् in the Parasmaipada.

As गमिष्यति, अगमिष्यत्, जिगमिष्यति ॥ Why of गम्? Observe चेष्यति ॥ The repetition of इ shows that the rule is invariable. Why 'in the Parasmaipada'? Observe संगंसीट, संगसीट, संगस्यते, संजिङ्गसते, संजिङ्गसिष्यते, अधिजिगासते, अधिजिगासिष्यते ॥

The lengthening takes place by VI. 4 16 when गम् is the substitute of the root इह् (II. 4 48) Why before स्? Observe गन्तासि, गन्तास्वः, गन्तासः ॥

Ishti: This इह् augment is not desired of the root गम् standing in the same pada with an atmanepada affix. But it occurs every where else. As जिगमिषिता इव आचरति = जिगमिषितीयते, here there is इह् augment, because अत्मानेपादा affix is not in the same pada with गम्, but is bahiranga. Compare VII. 2.36 *vast*. It occurs before कृप affixes, and even where is luk-elision of Parasmaipada affix, and where therefore the affix generally would have left no trace behind by I. 1. 63. As संजिगमिषिता and अधिजिगमिषिता व्याकरणस्थ ॥ So also जिगमिष खम्, here there is luk-elision of the Imperative affix हि ॥ The opinion of the author of Padaśeshakāra is that the employment of the term Parasmaipada in the sūtra is illustrative. He explains it by saying:—परस्मैपदेषु यो गमिष्यपलक्षित स्त-स्मात् सकारादेवार्थाद्यातुकस्य इह् भवति ॥ According to him we have the forms संजिगमिषिता and अधिजिगमिषिता व्याकरणस्थ ॥

न वृद्ध्यश्चतुर्भ्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वृद्ध्यः, चतुर्भ्यः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्तादिष्यश्चतुर्भ्य उच्चरस्य सकारादेवार्थाद्यातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

59. The Parasmaipada ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with स् do not get the augment इह् after वृत् and the three roots that follow it.

Thus वृत्—वर्त्स्यति, अवर्त्स्यत्, विवृत्स्यति । वृथ् वर्त्स्यति । अवर्त्स्यत् । विवृत्स्यति । शृथ् । अश्वर्त्स्यत् विशृत्स्यति । स्यन्दू । स्यन्त्स्यति । अस्यन्त्स्यत् ।

The वृत्तादि roots are four वृत्, वृथ्, शृथ् and स्यन्दू (Bhu. 795-798). In the examples, the Parasmaipada forms are shown, because these roots are optionally Parasmaipadi by I. 3. 92 before स्य and स्त्र ॥

Obj—The word चतुर्भ्यः may conveniently have been omitted from the sūtra. A reference to the Dhātupāṭha will show that the वृत्तादि roots form a subdivision of श्वत्तादि roots, and stand at the end of Dyutādi class. So that the sūtra न वृद्ध्यः would have been enough, and there would have been no uncertainty or vagueness about it, for the word वृत्तादि would mean 'the roots वृत् &c. with which the Dyutādi class ends'. Thus we shall get the five roots 795 वृत् वृत्तेन 796 वृथ् वृद्दौ, 797 शृथ् शश्वत्स्यात्; 798 स्यन्दू प्रस्त्रवणे and कृष् सामथ्येऽ ॥ As regards the last root कृष्, we shall find from the next sūtra, that the present sūtra applies to this root also. Or we can change the order of the roots, putting कृष् first, and वृत् &c after it, so that वृत्तादि will mean four roots only. Whether वृत्तादि be taken to mean the five or the four roots, the word चतुर्भ्यः is redundant.

Ans—The word चतुर्भ्यः is used in order that the prohibition contained in this sūtra may debar the 'option' which the root स्यन्दू would have taken, because of its indicatory long क (VII. 2. 44). For this 'option' is an antaranga operation, because it applies to all ārdhadhātuka affixes; while the 'prohibition' of the present sūtra is a bahiranga, because it applies to those affixes only which

begin with स् ॥ So that the 'prohibition' of this sūtra would not have debarred the 'option' of VII. 2. 44 : and in the Parasmaipada स्यन्त् would have had two forms; which, however, is not the case because of the word चतुर्थः by which the 'prohibiton' is extended to स्यन्त् also. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have only one form, as, स्यन्त्स्यति; but in the Atmanepada we have *two* forms स्यन्दिष्यते or स्यन्त्स्यते ॥

The word 'Parasmaipada' is understood in this sūtra, so that the prohibition does not apply to ātmanepada affixes: as वर्तिषीष्, वर्तिष्यते, अवर्तिष्यत्, विवर्तिष्यते, स्यन्दिष्यते or स्यन्त्स्यते ॥ Moreover, with regard to Atmanepada also, the इ॒ is added to these roots when they stand in the same 'pada' with the affixes. But when the Atmanepada affixes are added not to the *roots* 'vṛit &c', but to the *roots* which are derived from the *nominal* bases formed from 'vṛit &c', then the 'root' is not in the same pada with the affix, and the prohibition of this sūtra will apply. As विवृतिषीष्यते ॥ Moreover, the rule applies, as we have said, to the affixes standing in the same 'pada' with the 'roots'; therefore it will apply to Desiderative roots, as विवृत्स्यति, though श् here intervenes between the ārdhadhatuka affix सन् and the Parasmaipada तिष्; so also, an ekādeśa though sthānivat and therefore an intervention, will not be considered so for the purposes of this rule, as विवृत्स्यति; so also in विवृत्स्यति ॥ The prohibition, moreover, applies to कृत् affixes, and where there is luk-elision of Parasmaipada affixes. As विवृतिष्ठा; and विवृत्स त्वम् where the Imperative हि is luk-elided, and being so elided, the force of Parasmaipada does not here remain by न लुमताङ्गस्य (I. 1. 63); hence the above *Ishti*.

तासि च क्लृपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, च, क्लृपः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृप उच्चरस्य तासेः सकारदेशार्थातुकस्य परस्मैपदेषु इडागमो न भवति ।

60. The Parasmaipada ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with स्त्, and the affix तास् (the sign of the Periphrastic Future) do not get the augment इ॒, after the root क्लृप् ॥

Thus कल्पा, कल्पस्यति, अकल्पस्यत्, विकल्पस्यति ॥ But कल्पितासे, कल्पिषीष्, कल्पिष्यते, अकल्पिष्यत, विकल्पिष्यते in the Ātmanepada.

In the case of क्लृप् also, the इ॒ is added to the ārdhadhātuka affixes in the Atmanepada, when the root stands in the same pada with the affixes and there is prohibition everywhere else. So also there is prohibition before कृत- affixes, and the luk-elision of Parasmaipada. As विक्लृप्तिष्ठा, विक्लृप्त्य च ॥

According to Padamanjari, these two sūtras could have been shortened thus:—(1) न वृद्धयः पञ्चम्यः; (2) तासि च; and "क्लृपः" could well have been omitted. The तास् comes only after क्लृप् and not after other roots of Vṛitādi class, in Parasmaipada [I. 3. 92 and 93]. Therefore, there is no fear that the prohibition तासि च will apply to the other roots of vṛitādi, but only to 'klip', because

the word परस्मैपदेषु is understood here; and as no roots of vṛitadi class take Parasmaipada in the Periphrastic Future except 'klip', there is no fear of any ambiguity.

अचस्तास्वत्थल्यनिदो नित्यम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, तास्वत्, अलि, अनिदः, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तासा ये नित्यानिदो धानवोऽजन्तास्तेभ्यस्तासाविव यनीडागमो न भवति ।

61. After a root, which ends in a vowel, and after which the Per. Fut. affix tāsi is always devoid of the augment इट् ; (after such a root) थल् the personal ending of the Perfect, like तास्, does not also get the augment इट् ॥

Those vowel-ending roots in Dhātupāṭha which are *invariably* anīt before the affix तास् (Peri. Future), are also anīt before the Perfect ending थल् ॥ As याता (Peri-Fut.), यथाय (Per.), चिता, चिचय, नेता, निनेय; होता जुहोय ॥ Why 'ending in a vowel'? Observe भन्ना, विभेदिय ॥ Why 'like तास्'? Observe लूत्वा but लुलविय, Why 'थल्'? Observe याता but यथिव, यथिम ॥ The word नित्यं qualifies अनिद्, if therefore तास् be *optionally* anīt, then the थल् will be सेट् *always*. As तास्-विधेता or विधविता ; the थल् is विदुधविय ॥

Here इट् is optional before तास् by VII. 2. 44. Similarly चक्रनिधि, for क्रम् is anīt in ātmanepada, and सेट् in Parasmaipada. In fact, wherever there is want of इट्, whether by complete prohibition or optional prohibition, all that is regulated by VII. 2. 13 : this is the view adopted by the Kāśikā. But another view is that the prohibition of this sūtra applies to the इट् of VII. 2. 13 only, but does not debar the option of VII. 2. 44 ; so they have two forms विदुधोधि and विदुधविय ॥ This view is applied by them to VII. 2. 46, as सस्वर्य or सस्वरिय (VII. 2. 44).

Why have we used the word वत् in तास्वत्? The force of वत् is that the root should have a form in तास् and then be anīt; and if a root has no Periphrastic Future form, and thus its तास् is anīt, such a root is not governed by this sūtra. As जघसिय and उत्तयिय ॥ Here the roots घस् and वय् the substitutes of अट् and वेट् respectively have no Periphrastic Future form, and hence this rule does not apply to them.

उपदेशोऽत्वतः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे, अत्वतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशे यो धातुरकारवान् तासौ नित्यानिद् तस्मात्तासाविवयनीडागमो न भवति ।

62. After a root which possesses a short अ as its root-vowel in the original enunciation (the Dhātupāṭha), and after which the Peri-Fut. तास् is always devoid of the augment इट्, थल् the Personal ending of the Perfect, like तास्, does not get the augment इट् ॥

As Fut. पत्ता, Per. पपक्ष्य, वटा, इष्ट, शन्ता, शशक्य ॥ Why do we say 'in the Original Enunciation'? Observe Fut. कर्त्ता Per. अकर्त्तिं in which the अ of 'karsh' is the result of guṇa substitution. Why do we say 'having an अ'? Observe Fut. भेन्ना Per. विभेदिथ, here the root-vowel is इ ॥ Why do we say "short अ"? Observe Fut. रात्रा Per. रत्तिधि from रात् the root-vowel being long आ ॥ The word तात्पत् is understood here also. Therefore we have जिपृक्षति, जिप्राधिति ॥ Here the root अह is anīt before सन् (VII. 2. 12) and not before तास् so it will not be anīt before थ ॥ The words नित्यं अनिदः are also understood here. Therefore the rule does not apply to आनज्जय (VII. 4. 71, 72). For the root अञ्जू (VII. 21) takes *optionally* इ॒ before तास् (VII. 2. 44) as अञ्जिता and अञ्जता ॥

ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, भारद्वाजस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्ताद्वातोर्भारद्वाजस्याचार्यस्य मतेन तासादिव नित्यानिदस्यलि इडागमो न भवति ।

63. In the opinion of Bhāradvāja, it is only after a root which ends in short ऋ, and after which the Peri-Fut. तास् is always devoid of the augment इ॒, that थङ् also, like तास्, does not take the augment इ॒ ॥

As सर्त्ता, समर्थ, धर्त्ता, इधर्थ ॥ The अ roots are covered by VII. 2. 61 ; the specification of these roots makes a restriction, so that *all* other roots, are not anīt, though the Peri-Fut in तास् be anīt. So that according to Bhāradvāja, we have forms like यथिथ, वयिथ, पेत्तिथ, शेकिथ ॥ Thus this sūtra makes the preceding two sūtras optional, except so far as short ऋ-ending roots, are concerned.

As a general rule, all roots ending in long ऋ are सेद्; therefore, the sutra mentions *short* ऋ, in order to debar its application to long ऋ ending words. Had it not been so, this rule would have been a *vidhi* rule and not a *niyama*: because rule VII. 2. 61 does not apply to long ऋ ending roots, and so if the present sūtra were to include long ऋ also, it could not be called a *niyama* (restriction) of VII. 2. 61.

वभुथाततन्यजगृम्भववर्थेति निगमे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वभुथ, आततन्य, जगृम्भ ववर्थ, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वभूय आततन्य जगृम्भ ववर्थ इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते निगमविषये ।

64. In the Veda are found the irregular forms वभुथ, आततन्य, जगृम्भ and ववर्थ ॥

As लं हि होता प्रथमो वभूय (=वभूविथ); येनान्तरिक्षदुर्वाततन्य (=आतिनिय), जगृम्भा ते वक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तम (=जगृहिम), ववर्थ लं हि ज्योतिषा (=ववरिथ). See VII. 2. 13. This is also a niyama rule with regard to वृ for by VII. 2. 13 the root वृ was already anīt, and its Perfect would have been ववर्थ by that rule. The special mention of this form shows that in secular literature this root is always सेद् before थ of the Perfect.

विभाषा सृजिवशोः ॥ ६५ ॥ विभाषा, सृजि-हशोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सृजि हशि इत्येतयोस्थालि विभाषा इडागमो न भवति ।

65. थल् the Personal ending of the Perfect, optionally gets the augment इ॒ after सृज् and हश् ॥

As सस्त्रष्टु or सस्त्रजिय, हद्रष्टु or हद्रशीय ॥ See VI. 1. 58 for अ॒ अ॒ augment.

इ॒ इ॒ अ॒त्यर्ति॒व्ययतीनाम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पंदानि ॥ इ॒, अ॒त्ति॒-आ॒र्ति॒-व्ययतीनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अ॒त्ति॒ अ॒त्ति॒ व्ययति॒ इत्येतेषां यथीडागमो भवति ।

66. The affix थल् gets always the augment इ॒ after अ॒द्, अ॒त् and व्यय् ॥

As आ॒दिर्थ, आ॒रिय, and संविव्ययिये ॥ The root व्यैञ्च् is not changed to व्या (VI. 1. 46) in the Perfect. By VII. 2. 63, the roots अ॒द् and अ॒त् would have *optionally* been सैद्, and अ॒त् never; therefore, the present sūtra makes the इ॒ augment compulsory. The इ॒ is repeated in the aphorism for the sake of clearness, the rule could have stood without it, for the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' could not have run into it from the last sūtra: for if it was an optional sūtra, the enumeration of अ॒द् and अ॒त् was useless, as they were already provided for by VII. 2. 63. Therefore, this sūtra makes an invariable rule.

वस्वेकाजादूधसाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पंदानि ॥ वसु, एकाच्-आत्-घसाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृतद्विर्वचनानामेकाचां धातूनाम् आकारान्तानां पसेश्व वसाविडागमो भवति ।

67. The Participial affix वैत् (वस्) gets the augment इ॒ only then when the reduplicated root before it consists of one syllable, or when it comes after a root ending in long आ, and after घस्त् ॥

Thus आ॒दिवान्, आ॒शिवान्, पैचिवान्, शौकिवान् ॥ In the first two of these, the reduplicate stems आ॒द् and आ॒श् become of one syllable by the coalescence of अ॒ अ॒द् and अ॒श् ॥ In पैच् and शौक् the reduplicate is elided and the vowel अ॒ changed to ए, and thus the reduplicate has become of one syllable. Of roots ending in आ we have, अ॒थिवान्, तस्थिवान्, of घस्—जैक्षिवान् ॥ This वस् would have taken the augment by the general rule of इ॒ increment, the present sūtra makes a niyama, so that the roots which are not monosyllabic in their reduplicate form are anīt̄: as विभिहान्, चिच्छिहान्, वभूवान्, शिश्विवान् ॥ The niyama is made with regard to the roots which would have taken इ॒ generally, as not being governed by the prohibition in VII.2.13. The roots ending in long आ may consist of more than one syllable in their reduplicate form, as वाया + वस्, hence their separate enumeration: as a matter of fact, however, these reduplicates also become mono-syllabic ultimately by losing their आ ॥ The root दर्द्रा is not governed by this rule, for its Perfect will be formed periphrastically by III. 1. 35 Vārt, because

it consists of more than one syllable : as इरिंचकार ॥ And when आ॒ is not added, there also इरिं �loses its final आ before अर्धाद्वातुका affixes by the वृत्तिका under VI. 4. 114. So the आ being elided before the adding of any affix, this becomes a root which no longer ends in आ, and so the cause of adding इ उnder this सूत्रा no longer exists, and so no इ is added. Thus we have इविद्वान्, for before अर्धाद्वातुका affixes इरिं �loses its आ (VI. 4. 114 वृत्त), and this elision being considered as *siddha*, (VI. 4. 114 वृत्त), no occasion remains for the augment इ ॥ The घृ॒ becomes जश् in its reduplicate form (a stem of one syllable), but had it not been separately mentioned, then by VI. 4. 100, the penultimate अ of घृ॒ would have been elided first, before reduplication, because VI. 4. 100, is subsequent in order to the rule ordaining reduplication (VI. 1. 14 &c). The अ being elided, we should have घृ॒ only, which not having any vowel, could not be reduplicated. By its separate enumeration here, the augment इ being ordained by a subsequent rule (VII. 2. 67), prevents even the rule of elision (VI. 4. 100). Having, therefore, first added इ, we then elide the penultimate अ by VI. 4. 98, this elided अ, however, becomes ऋणिवत for the purposes of reduplication only by I. 1. 59. Thus घृ॒ + इवृ॒ = घृ॒ + इवृ॒ (VI. 4. 98) = जश् + इवृ॒ = जश्विवान् ॥

विभाषा गमहनविद्विशाम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गम-हन-विद-विशाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन विद विश इवेतेरां धातूनां वसौ विभाषा इडागमो भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृश्यते वक्तव्यम् ॥

68. The affix वृ॒ (वंस्) optionally takes इ उnder गम, हन्, विद् and विश् ॥

As गम्—जग्मवान् or जगन्वान् (म changed to न by VIII. 2. 64); हन्—जग्नि-वान् or जगन्वान्, (VII. 2. 54 and 55) विद्—विविद्वान् or विविश्वान्, विश्—विविश्वान् or विवि-श्वान् ॥ The root विद् 'to acquire' belongs to the *Tudādi* class, as it is read here with the *Tudādi* विश् ॥ The root विद् 'to know' (II. 55. IV. 62), forms *invariably* विविश्वान् because it is अत्मनेपादि and cannot take इ उnger before वंस् affix.

Vart :—The root दृश् should also be enumerated. As इद्विवान् and दृश्वान् ॥

सनिं ससनिवांसम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनिम्-ससनिवांसम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोते: सनतंर्ता धाताः: सनिससनिवांसमिति निपात्यते ।

69. The form ससनिवांसम् with सनि is irregularly formed.

This is derived from सनोति or सनति root. As अञ्जल्वाप्ते सनि ससनिवांसम् ॥ The augment इ is added, there is no change of अ of सन् to ए, nor the elision of the reduplicate before वंस् ॥ The other form is सनिवांसम् when not preceded by सनिम् ॥ This form ससनिवांसम् is Vedic, in secular literature we have सनिवांसम् ॥

त्रहृद्धनोः स्ये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रहृत-हनोः, स्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रकारान्तानां धातुर्नां हन्तेष्व स्ये इडागमो भवति ।

70. स्य the sign of the Future and Conditional gets the augment इ॒ट्, after a root ending in short त्रहृ and after हन् ॥

As करिष्यति, हनिष्यति, हरिष्यति ॥ The root स्त्रृ takes always इ॒ट् before स्य, though it does so optionally before other affixes (see VII. 2. 44) : as स्वरिष्यति ॥ Similarly अकरिष्यत्, अहरिष्यत्, अहनिष्यत् &c ॥

अञ्जः सिच्चि ॥ ७१ ॥ अञ्जः, सिच्चि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्जः सिच्चि इडागमो भवति ।

71. The स्त्र् of the s-Aorist always takes the इ॒ट् after अञ्ज् (Rudh. 21).

As आञ्जजीत्, आञ्जिष्टाम्, आञ्जिष्टुः ॥ But अहन्ता or अञ्जिता in tenses other than Aorist. The root having an indicatory long ऊ optionally takes इ॒ट् (VII. 2. 44.)

स्तुसुधूञ्ज्यः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, सु, धूञ्ज्यः, परस्मैपदेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्तु सु धूञ्ज् इत्येतेष्वः सिच्चि परस्मैपदे परत इडागमो भवति ॥

72. The सिच्चि of the s-Aorist gets the इ॒ट् in the Parasmaipada after the roots स्तु, सु and धूञ्ज् ॥

As अस्तावीत्, असावीत्, अधावीत् ॥ But अस्तोष्, असोष्, अधोष् or अधावेष् in Atmanepada. Exception to VII. 2. 10 and 44.

यमरमनमातां सक्त्वा ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यम, रम, नम, आताम, सक्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यम रम नम इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च सगागमो भवति परस्मैपदे सिच्चि इडागमश्च ॥

73. The सिच्चि of the Aorist in the Parasmaipada takes the augment इ॒ट् after यम्, रम्, नम् and roots ending in long आ, and स्त्र् (सक्) is added at the end of these stems.

Thus अयंसीत्, अयंसिष्टाम्, अयंसिष्टुः ॥ अयंसीत् । अयंसिष्टाम् । अयंसिष्टुः ॥ The root रम् is Parasmaipadi when preceded by वि or आ (I. 3. 83). अनंसीत् । अनंसिष्टाम् अनंसिष्टुः ॥ आकारान्तानाम् । अथासीत् । अथासिष्टाम् ; अथासिष्टुः । यमावीनां हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिः प्राप्ता सा नेतीति प्रतिषिद्धयते । परस्मैपदेष्वित्येव । आयंस्त । अरंस्त । अनंस्त ॥

The Vṛiddhi in the case of यम् &c. ordained by VII. 2. 3, does not take place by VII. 2. 4. In the Atmanepada we have आयंस्त ॥ The root यम् is अत्मानेपदि, as it is preceded by आ (I. 3. 75) अरंस्त, अनंस्त (III. 1. 85). Exception to VII. 2. 10, 44.

स्मिपूढरञ्ज्जवशां सनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मि, पूढ़, त्रहृ अञ्जू, अशू सनि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्मिह पूढ़ त्रहृ अञ्जू अशू इत्येतेषां धातुर्नां सनीडागमो भवति ॥

74. The Desiderative सन् gets the augment इ॒ट् after the roots स्मिड्, पूढ़, त्रहृ, अञ्जू and अशू ॥

Thus सिस्मयिषते, पिपविषते (VII.4.80) अरिष्टिति, अङ्गिजिष्टिति (VI. 1. 2 and 3) and अशिशिष्टते ॥ The root पूज् is not governed by this rule, as पुष्टति ॥ The अश् (V. 18) of Suādi class is taken here, and not अश् (IX. 51) of Kryādi class, for the latter *always* has इ॒, while the former having an indicatory long क has *optionally* इ॒ ॥

किरश्च पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ किरः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः सनि इडागमो भवति ॥

75. The desiderative सन् takes इ॒ after क् and the four roots that follow it (Tud. 116-120)

Thus चिकरिष्टिति, जिगरिष्टिति, विदरिष्टिति, विधरिष्टिति, पिपच्छिष्टिति (I. 2. 8; VI. 1. 16). But सिस्मति not included in the five. The roots क् and ग् would have optionally got इ॒ in the desiderative by VII. 2. 41, which would have been optionally lengthened by VII. 2. 38. But the इ॒ here being specifically ordained, does not get lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुदादिभ्यः, सार्वधातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्य उत्तरस्य वलाहे: सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

76. A sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant other than a य, gets the augment ई॒ after the root रुद् and the four that follow it (Ad. 58-62)

Thus रात्रिति, स्वप्निति, श्वसिति, प्राणिति, जक्षिति ॥ But जागति which is beyond the five, and स्वप्ना before ārdhadhātuka affixes, and रुदन्ति before a vowel beginning affix.

ईशः से ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईशः, से ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश उत्तरस्य सं इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

77. The sārvadhātuka affix से (the ending of the second Person Present and Imperative Atmanepada) gets the augment इ॒ after ईश् (Ad. 10)

As ईशिष्टे and ईशिष्व ॥ से becomes स्व by III. 4. 91 and 80. The से is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-ending.

ई॒ डजनोर्ध्वे च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई॒ इ॒, जनोः, ध्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई॒ इ॒ जन इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य ध्वे इत्येतस्य स इत्येतस्य च सार्वधातुकस्य इडागमो भवति ॥

78. The sārvadhātuka affix से and ध्वे, (the endings of the Present and Imperative Atmanepadi) get the augment इ॒ after the roots ई॒ (Ad. 9) and जन् ॥

Thus ई॒ डिष्टे, ई॒ डिष्टम्, ई॒ डिष्टे, ई॒ डिष्टव्, जान॒ इ॒ वे, जनिष्टम्, जनिष्टे, जनिष्टव् ॥ The root जनी (IV. 41) is taken here. The Vikarana इ॒ यन् has been elided in this case, as a Vedic irregularity, and so also there is not elision of the penultimate,

In the secular literature the form is जायसे ॥ Here the य would prohibit इ � always. The जन् of the third class (III. 24) is also to be included, thus we have व्यतिजन्मेष, व्यतिजन्मेष, व्यतिजन्मेष, व्यतिजन्मेष in karma vyatihāra. Otherwise this root is Parasmaipadi. य takes इ after इष, also, as इशिभवम् ॥

For this purpose, some read the sūtra as इडजनोः स्त्रेच्च च; and स् stands here for से having its Locative dropped, and therefore the force of च in the sūtra, according to this reading, is to draw in the anuvṛtti of इष from the previous sūtra. Those who do not follow this reading, draw the whole of the last sūtra by force of च ॥ From these it may be asked, what is then the necessity of two sūtras? Could not one sūtra, like this, इशीडजनां स्त्रयोः, have sufficed, as being shorter and more general? To this there is no better valid answer than this विचित्रा हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः ॥

The form च्च being taken in the sūtra, the rule will not apply to the ध्वम् of लह (Imperfect): which will not take इ ॥ But इ will apply to the ध्वम् of the Imperative on the maxim एकेइशाविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् ॥

लिङ्गः सलोपो अनन्त्यस्य ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गः, स, लोपः, अनन्त्यस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुकाइति वर्तते, सार्वधातुक यो लिङ्ग तस्य अनन्त्यस्य सकारस्थ लोपो भवति ॥

79. In the sārvadhātuka Lin (i. e. Potential), the स् which is not final (i.e. the स् of the augments यास् and सीय्), is elided.

What is the स् which is not final? The स् of the augments यासुद्, सुद् and सीयुद् ॥ Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, कुर्युः, कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, कुर्यात् ॥ Why 'not the final'? Observe कुर्युः, कुर्याः ॥ Why in the Sārvadhātuka? Observe क्रियास्ताम्, क्रियासुः, क्रियाद्, क्रियास्ताम्, क्रियात् in the Benedictive.

अतो येयः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, या, इयः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताइङ्गादुत्तरस्य या इत्येतस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इय इत्यथादेशो भवति ॥

80. After a Present stem ending in short अ, इय् is substituted for the sārvadhātuka या (i.e. for the या of the augment यास् of the Potential).

Thus पचेत्, पचेताम् and पचेयुः ॥ The य् of इय् is elided before affixes beginning with a consonant by VI. 1. 66. In the case of पचेयुः, the pararūpa of VI. 1. 96 is prevented. Why 'ending in a short अ'? Observe चिनुयात्, सुनुयात् ॥ Why 'short'? Observe यायात् ॥ Why sārvadhātuka? Observe चिकीर्ष्यात् ॥

The objector may say, the form चिकीर्ष्यात् will be so by the elision of अ under VI. 4. 48, and so there is no necessity of reading the anuvṛtti of sārvadhātuka in this sūtra; for when अ is elided by अतोलोपः VI. 4. 48, in the case of अर्धाधातुका या the present rule cannot apply, as there is no base left

which ends in अ ॥ To this we reply, this is not a good reason: for then in the case of पञ्चत् and दञ्जत् also, the rule अतो शीर्षी यज्ञि (VII. 3. 101) would apply, and the अ of पञ्च would require to be lengthened. But that is not so. The fact is that the present sūtra debars rule VII. 3. 101. Therefore, as this इत् substitute debars the lengthening of VII. 3. 101, so it would debar the lopa of VI. 4. 48. Therefore, if the anuvṛitti of sārvadhātuka be not read into this sūtra, the इत् substitute would apply to Ārdhadhātuka also, and the lopa-elision VI. 4. 48 would not help, as that would be superseded by this special rule. Therefore the anuvṛitti of "sārvadhātuka" should be read into this sūtra.

The above is stated on general grounds. But if the maxim मध्येऽपवादः पूर्वान् विधीन् थाधन्ते नोन्नराम् (Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them) be applied here, then the present sūtra would supersede only the preceding sūtra VI. 4. 48 and not the following sūtra VII. 3. 101 which would not be superseded by the present sūtra. In this view also, the lopa being superseded at all events, the anuvṛitti of 'Sārvadhātuka' must be read into this sūtra.

In the शीर्ष rule VII. 3. 101, the word 'sārvadhātuka' is understood from VII. 3. 95. But according to some, the word तिङ्कि of VII. 3. 88 is also understood there, so that they would lengthen the अ, before a sārvadhātuka personal termination (तिङ्कि) only, and not before every sārvadhātuka affix in general. According to this view, the present sūtra will debar only the dirgha rule (VII. 3. 101) and not the lopa rule (VI. 4. 48), on the maxim अन ना प्राप्ति &c.

The word येयः in the sūtra is formed by या + इयः; and या is exhibited without any case-termination. Others say, the word is यः the sixth case of या formed on the analogy of विश्वपः by the elision of आ (VI. 4. 140). Then यः + इयः = य + इयः (VIII. 3. 19) after this elision, there ordinarily would take place no sandhi; as this elision is considered asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of VI. 1. 87. Contrary to this general rule, however, the sandhi takes place here and we have येयः by VI. 1. 87. The अ in इयः is for the sake of pronunciation only. The real substitute is इत् ॥

Some read the sūtra as अतो यासियः ॥ So that the sthānī is यास् and not या, and यासियः is a genitive compound.

आतो डितः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, डितः ॥

मृत्तिः ॥ आकारस्य डिन्दवयवस्य अकारान्ताइङ्गादुन्नरस्य सार्वधातुकस्य इत् इत्ययमादेषो भवति ॥

81. For the आ being a portion of a sarvadhātuka Personal ending which is डित् (i.e. आते, आथे, आताम् and आथाम्), coming after a Verbal stem ending in short अ, there is substituted इत् ॥

Thus पचेते, पचेये, पचेताम्, पचेयाम्, यजेते, यजये, यजेयाम्, दास्येये, दास्येते ॥ The य् of इय् drops by VI. 1. 66. Why do we say "the long आ"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति, पचते, यजते ॥ Why do we say 'a डिन् affix'? Observe पचावैह, पचासैह (I. 2. 4). Why do we say 'ending in short अ'? Observe अभ्वाति, मुम्बाते ॥ Why 'short'? Observe मिमाते, मिमाये ॥

All sārvadhātuka affixes which have not an indicatory त् are डिन् by I. 2. 4. Now सार्वधातुकमवित् (I. 2. 4) is a sūtra in which the word डिन् is understood from I. 2. 1. But the grammatical construction of the word डिन् in the two sūtras I. 2. 1 and I. 2. 4 is not the same. In the first sūtra, it means डिति इव=डित्वत्, i. e. the roots गा कुट् &c are treated in the same way as they would have been treated, had a डिन् affix followed. But in the second sūtra I. 2. 4, the word डिन् is equal to डित इव "like of डिन्" ॥ The sūtra I. 2. 1. is so explained in order to evolve the form उच्चुकुट्वत् ॥ For when the सन् is added to कुट्, the root कुट् is treated as if the सन् was a डिन् affix, and so there is no guṇa. But if सन् itself had become डिन्, then the Desiderative root चुकुट्विष्, being a डिन् root would require ātmanepada affixes by अनुशास्त्रडित आत्मनेपदम् (I. 3. 12). In the case, however, of sārvadhātuka-apit-affixes, the affixes themselves become like डिन्, and are treated as डिन् affixes, not only with regard to the stem preceding them, but with regard to their own selves also, as we see in the present sūtra.

आने मुक् ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आने, मुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनं परतोऽनुस्थातो मुगागमो भवति ॥

82. Before the Participial ending आन, a verbal stem ending in short अ, gets the augment मुक् ॥

Thus पचमानः, यजमानः ॥

This मुक् is part and parcel of अ only, and not of the anga. For if मुक् be considered as part of the anga, then it will be an intervention, and make the anga end in a consonant and so there will be anomaly in accent. For by VI. 1. 186, the ल sārvadhātuka affix is anudātta after a stem ending in अ; so if मुक् be considered part of the anga, the stem no longer ends in अ but म्; but if it be considered as a portion of अ only, then the anga still remains अनुपदेश (VI. 1. 186). So the accent of पचमानः and यजमानः is governed by VI. 1. 186.

An objector may say, "if this be so, then the stem पचम् is still considered as ending in अ, and therefore in पचम्+आन, we should apply the previous sūtra VII. 2. 81, and change अ into इय्" ॥ To this we reply, 'no, it cannot be so; for the त् in अत् (VII. 2. 80) shows that the अ consisting of one mātrā is to be taken, but when मुक् is added, this अ becomes one mātrā and half, so the rule VII. 2. 81 will not apply; because it applies only to अ of one mātrā' The objector:—"If this is so, then the anudātta of VI. 1. 186 will not also hold good, for there also the अत् means the अ of one mātrā." This is no valid objection. For there the word उपदेश is taken, so that a stem which at the time

of upadeśa or first enunciation, ends in a short अ of one mātrā, is governed by that rule; though after the enunciation, the short अ may be lengthened in its mātrā. It is for this reason that the rule VI. 1. 186 applies to पचावः and पचामः; though the short अ is subsequently lengthened before व and म by VII. 3. 101.

Or the sūtra may have been made as आनस्य मुद्, and the augment म् would then be added to आन and not to the verbal stem. All the above difficulties would be removed by this view. But then the final अ of पच &c would require to be lengthened before मान by VII. 3. 101. This objection, however, is not insuperable, for one view of VII. 3. 101 is that the word तिङ्गि is understood there, so that the lengthening would take place only before a तिङ्गि affix beginning with a अ॒ vowel: and not before any other affix.

ईदासः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, आसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आस उत्तरस्यानस्य इकारादेशो भवति ॥

83. ई is substituted for the आ of आ॑न, after आ॒स ॥

Thus आ॑सीनो यज्ञे ॥ (See I. 1. 54 by which the *first* letter of the *second* term after आसः which is exhibited in the Ablative is taken here). The आ॑न which is in the 7th case in the last aphorism, should be taken in the 6th case in this.

अष्टून आ विभक्तौ ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टूनः, आ, विभक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टूनो विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

84. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टून before a case-ending.

Thus अष्टाभिः, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टाष्टु ॥ Why 'before a *case-ending*'?

Observe अष्टत्वम्, अष्टता ॥ The rule of this sūtra is an optional one, and we have in the alternative अष्टभिः, अष्टभ्यः ॥ The आ in the sūtra indicates the *individual* letter आ, and not आ belonging to the general class आ ॥ For the generic आ would include the nasalised अ॑ also, and as the letter replaced (अ॒न्) is a nasal, the substitute would have been also nasal अ॑, but it is not so. See VI. 1. 172 and VII. 1. 22. This rule applies also when the word stands at the end of a compound, as प्रियादानः or प्रियादौः (VII. 1. 22). The word विभक्ति governs the subsequent sūtras upto VII. 2. 114.

रायो हलि ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ रायः, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रै हत्येत्स्य हलादौ विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

85. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of रै ॥

As राभ्याम्, राभिः, ॥ But रायौ, रायः before affixes beginning with a vowel. Why 'a case ending'? Observe रैत्वम्, रैता ॥

युध्मदस्मदोरनादेशो ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युध्मद्, अस्मदोः, अनादेशो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युध्महस्यदित्येत्यारनादेश विभक्तौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

86. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27 &c. Thus युष्मानिः अस्माभिः, युष्मासु, अस्मासु ॥ Why do we say 'when it is not a substitute'? Observe युष्मत् and अस्मत् (VII. 1. 31). The anuvṛitti of हलि need not be read into this sūtra from the preceding, for if that were so, the mention of अनदेशो would become redundant, because as a matter of fact no *substitute* case-ending begins with a consonant. However, reading this sūtra with VII. 2. 89, we find that the scope of the present sūtra is before consonant beginning affixes.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयायां च परतो युष्मदस्मदेशकारादेशो भवति ॥

87. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम्, युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This rule applies to endings which are even substitutes, otherwise the last rule would have been sufficient. See VII. 2. 28, 29, and VII. 2. 92 and 97.

प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमायाः, च, द्विवचने, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने परतो भाषायां विषये युष्मदस्मदेशकारादेशो भवति ॥

88. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the Secular literature.

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why of the nominative? Observe युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why in the Dual? Observe त्वं, अहं, यूं, यये ॥ Why in the secular literature? Observe युं वस्त्राणि पीवसा वसाथे in the Veda, so also आवम् ॥

योचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ विभक्तावनादेशो युष्मदस्मदेश्यकारादेशो भवति ॥

89. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus त्वया, मया, त्वयि, मयि, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥ If in the sūtra VII. 2. 86, we read the anuvṛitti of हलि, we need not use अचि in the present sūtra. For then this sūtra will be a general (utsarga) aphorism, ordaining य before *all* non-substitute case-endings; and the sūtra VII. 2. 86, will be considered an exception (apavāda) to this, with regard to those case-endings which begin with a consonant, where आ will be ordained. In this view of the case, the use of अचि here is explanatory. Why 'when the ending is not a substitute'? Observe त्वद् गच्छति, मद् गच्छति ॥

शेषे लोपः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे विभक्तौ युष्मदस्मद्लोपो भवति ॥

90. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

This elision finds scope in the Singular and Plural of the Ablative, Dative, Genitive, and the Nominative. Thus त्वम्, अहम्, शूयम्, वयम्, तुभ्यम्, महाम्, युष्मयम्, अस्मयम्, त्वत्, मत्, युष्मत्, अस्मत्, तव, मम, युष्माकम्, अस्माकम् ॥ The following sloka gives the cases which are included in the word शेषः—

पञ्चम्याश्च चतुर्थ्याश्च वर्णीप्रथमयोरपि ।
यान्द्विंश्च चनान्यच तेषु लोपो विधीयते ॥

The word शेष is employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness. For there will be elision *universally* before *all* case-affixes. This is the *general rule*. To this there is the exception that before non-substitute case-affixes there will be य (VII. 2. 89). To this latter, there is an exception that before non-substitute case-endings beginning with a consonant, आ comes. Thus without any confusion, the आ, the य, and the lopa find their respective scopes.

When there is elision, why is not दाप् added in the Feminine; in त्वं ब्राह्मणी ; अहं ब्राह्मणी ? The दाप् is not added on the maxim सत्रिपात लक्षणो विधिरानिसितं तद्विपातस्य 'a rule which is occasioned by a certain combination, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination.' Because the ending in अ of युष्मद् and अस्मद् was occasioned by vibhakti combination, if this latter occasion दाप्, then it will destroy its own fruit.

Or the words युष्मद् and अस्मद् may be taken to have no gender, and equally applicable to both masculine and feminine.

In order to avoid all this difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or दि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the next sūtra VII. 2. 91, the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that remains (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

Why is this 'lopa' taught again, when by VII. 2. 102, all त्वाद्विप्राप्ते pronouns have अ substituted for their finals before case-endings; and so would yushmad and asmad, lose their finals and become yushma and asma by that rule? That rule does not apply to yushmad and asmad, because by an ishṭi that rule is restricted to tyadādi pronouns upto दि, thus excluding युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु and किम् ॥

मपर्यन्तस्य ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ म पर्यन्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपर्यन्तस्यैत्यमधिकारो, यदित अर्धमनुकमित्यामो मपर्यन्तस्यैत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII.2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

Thus VII. 2. 92 teaches that युव and आव are substituted for yushmad and asmad in the dual. The substitutes replace युष्म् and अस्म्. Thus युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ Why 'upto म्'? Observe युवकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 teaches that त्व and म replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by this sūtra 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus त्वया, मया, the अद् portion remains for which य is substituted by VII. 2. 89. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of त्व and म would have been replaced by य (VII. 2. 89), and given us undesired forms like ल्या and न्या ॥ Why is the word पर्यन्त employed in the sūtra and not the word अन्त, as मानतस्य? In the first place the word अन्त is ambiguous, it may mean ending with म् but excluding म्, or ending with म् and including म् ॥ In the second place, the word पर्यन्त is used to indicate the limit, or portion taken out of the whole. The word मान्त would have meant, that form of yusmad and asmad which ends with म् ॥ Now these words have a form which ends in म्, as युष्मानाचेष्टे or अस्मानाचेष्टे = युष्मते or अस्मते formed by णिच् (the णि portion अद् is elided by VII. 4. 155, vārtika). Now a noun formed from this derivative root युष्मि and अस्मि by क्षिप् affix will be युष्म् and अस्म् ॥ These are the two forms of yusmad and asmad which are complete words ending in म् ॥ The present sūtra does not apply to these words.

In declining these nouns युष्म् and अस्म्, we shall apply the rules VII. 2. 89 and 86, thus :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	त्वं	युष्मां	युष्मं	Acc.	युष्मां	युष्मां	युष्मान्
Ins.	युष्म्या	युष्म्याभ्यां	युष्म्याभिः	Dat.	त्वंयं	युष्म्याभ्यां	युष्म्याभ्यः
Abl.	युष्मत्	युष्माभ्यां	युष्मत्	Gen.	त्वं	युष्म्याः	युष्माकं
Loc.	युष्म्ये	युष्म्योः	युष्मासु	॥ (Padamanjari).			

युवावौ द्विवचने ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ युव, आवौ, द्विवचने ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचनहस्त्यर्थप्रहणम् । द्विवचने य युष्मदस्मदी द्वार्याभिधानंविषये तयोर्मर्पयन्तस्य स्थाने युव आव इत्यतावदेशी भवतः ॥

92. In the Dual, युव is substituted for युष्म् and आव for अस्म् ॥

Thus युवाम्, आवाम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥ This substitution takes place even in compounds, where the sense of duality is prominent, if some other substitute like VII. 2. 94 &c. does not intervene. As अतिक्रान्तं युवाम् = अतियुवाम्, so also अत्यावान्; अतियुवान्, अत्यावान् (= अतिक्रान्तान्, युवाम् &c.) अतियुवया and अत्यावया (= अतिक्रान्तेन्, युवाम्) Similarly अतियुवाभिः ॥ (अतिक्रान्तंयुष्मां) अत्यावाभिः, अतियुष्म्यम्, (अतिक्रान्तेभ्ययुष्मां) अत्यावयम्, अतियुवत्, (अतिक्रान्ताद् युष्मां) अत्यावत्, अतियुवाकम्, (अतिक्रान्तानं युष्मां) अत्यावाकम्, अतियुवयि, (अतिक्रान्ते युष्मां) अत्यावयि, आतयुवासु, अतिक्रान्तेषु युष्मां अत्यावासु ॥ But where त्वं &c are to be substituted, there those will be substituted, as अतित्वम् (= अतिक्रान्तो युवाम्), अत्यहम्, अतिश्यम्, अतिवयम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमहम्, अतितव, अतिम ॥ This substitution does not take place when 'yushimad' and 'asmad' denote one or many (more than two), though the compound may denote a duality: as अतिक्रान्तो त्वाम् = अतित्वाम्, अतिमाम्, अतियुष्मान्, अत्यस्मान् ॥

If in a compound, the words *yushmad* and *asmad* are employed in a dual signification, though the compound as a whole may have a singular or plural number, for the number of a compound does not depend upon the number of the words composing it, yet even in such a compound the युव and आव substitution should be made for the dual-significant *yushmad* and *asmad*: unless such substitution is debarred by some other substitutes like त्व and अह (VII. 2. 94 &c). Thus अतिक्रान्ते शुभां = अतिशुभाम्, similarly अति-आवाम् ॥ The whole declension is given below :—

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	अतिश्वम्	अतिश्वयम्	अत्यहम्	अत्यवयम्
Acc.	अतिशुभाम्	अतिशुभाम्	अत्यावाम्	अत्यावान्
Ins.	अतिशुवया	अतिशुवभिः	अत्यावया	अत्यावाभिः
Date.	अतिशुव्यं	अतिशुवभ्यं	अतिश्वम्हम्	अत्यावभ्यं
Abl.	अतिशुवत्	अतिशुवत्	अत्यावत्	अत्यावत्
Gen.	अतिश्व	अतिशुभाकम्	अतिशम्	अत्यावाकम्
Loc.	अतिशुवधि	अतिशुवस्तु	अत्यावधि	अत्यावास्तु

But when the words *yushmad* and *asmad* denote singular or plural, nbt the compound denotes a dual, then the *yuva* and *āva* substitutions do not take place. As अतिक्रान्तौ त्वाम् = अतित्वाम्, so also अतिक्रान्तौ शुभान् = अतिशुभान्, so also अत्यस्मान् ॥ So on in other cases.

यूयवयौ जसि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूय, वयौ, जसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभमद्दोर्मपर्यन्तस्य जसि परतो शूय वय इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

93. In the Nom. Pl. यूय is substituted for शुभम्, and वय for अस्म ॥

As शूयम्, वयम्, परमशूयम्, परमवयम्, अतिश्वम्, अतिवयम् ॥ The Tadanta-vidhi applies here. That rule applies in this angādhikāra on the maxim अङ्गाधिकरे तत्त्वं च तदुत्तरपदस्य च ॥ See also VII. 3. 10. In शूयम् and वयम्, the final द् is elided by VII. 2. 90, and we have शूय and वय + अ + अम् (VII. 1. 28) = शूयम् and वयम् (VI. 1. 97 and 107).

त्वाहौ सौ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्व, अहौ, सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभमद्दोर्मपर्यन्तस्य सौ परे त्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

94. In the Nominative Singular त्व is substituted for शुभम् and अह for अस्म ॥

Thus त्वम् and अहम्, परमत्वम्, परमाहम्, अतित्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥ See VII. 1. 28, VI. 1. 97 and 107.

तुभ्यमहौ डयि ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुभ्य, महौ, डयि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभमद्दोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्य महौ इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो डयि परतः ॥

95. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for शुभम् and महौ for अस्म ॥

As तुभ्यम्, महौम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममहौम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमहौम् ॥

तवमौ डसि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव, ममौ, डसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदेमपर्यन्तस्य तव मम इत्येतावदेशौ भवतो डसि परतः ॥

96. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

As तव, मम, परमतव, परमम, अतितव, अतिमम ॥ The द् is elided by VII. 2. 90, and तव and मम + अ + अ (VII. I. 27) = तव and मम by VI. I. 97.

त्वमावेकवचने ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वमौ, एक वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यर्थनिर्देशः । एकवचने ये युष्मदस्मदी एकार्याभिधानविषये तयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्थाने त्व म इत्येतावदेशौ भवतः ॥

97. In the remaining cases of the Singular, त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म ॥

As त्वास्, मास्, त्वया, मया, त्वत्, मत्, त्वयि, मयि ॥ The compounds also take this substitution according to the sense : as अतिक्रान्तस्त्वास् = अतित्वम्, अत्यहम्, अतिक्रान्तौ मम = अतिमास्, अतित्वास्, अतिक्रान्तात् त्वास् = अतित्वात्, अतिमात्, अतिक्रान्ताभ्यां स्वां = अतित्वाभ्यास्, अतिमाभ्यास्, अतिक्रान्तस्त्वास् = अतित्वाभिः, अतिमाभिः ॥

When in a compound, the words yushmad and asmad denote one, though the compound may denote two or many, thereeven the त्व and म substitutions must take place. And as regards different substitutes, like त्व and आह before शु &c, those prior taught substitutes debar this latter by the rule of पूर्वविप्रतिषेधः ॥ Some examples have already been given above, others are अतियूथम्, अतित्यूथम्, अतितव ॥ So also with asmad. Similarly अतित्वां पद्य, अतित्वात्, अतित्वाभ्यास्, अतित्वाभिः, अतित्वभ्यम्, अतित्वत्, अतित्वयोः, आतित्वाकम्, आतित्वयि, अतित्वयोः, अतित्वाम् ॥

प्रत्ययोन्तरपदयोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यय, उत्तरपदयोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनइत्यनुवर्तते । प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च परत एकवे वर्तमानयोर्युष्मदस्मदेमपर्यन्तस्य त्व म इत्येतावदेशौ भवतः ॥

98. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As त्वदीयः, मदीयः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, I. I. 74) त्वत्तरः (= अतिशयेन स्य), मत्तर, त्वद्यति (= त्वामिच्छति), मद्यति; त्वत्तते (= त्वमिवाचरते), मद्यते ॥ Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As तव पुचः = त्वत्पुचः, मत्पुचः ॥ त्व नायोऽस्य = त्वनायः, मनायः ॥ When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीयं (= युष्माकामिदं), अस्मदीयः युष्मत्पुचः (= युष्माकं पुचः), अस्मत्पुचः ॥

The sūtra VII. 2. 97 referred to the vibhaktis or case-endings, as that word from VII. 2. 84 governs these sūtras, the present sūtra refers to other affixes, and to compounds. It might be objected, that even before other affixes and compounds these words had in them vibhaktis, though those vibhaktis were elided when these affixes were added or when the words became part of a compound;

and that having in them suppressed vibhaktis, the substitutions would take place in spite of this sūtra. This objection is not valid, for there the vibhaktis have been elided. But is not elision a Bahiranga and the substitute an antaranga process; and should not, therefore, the substitute come first and then the vibhakti elided? The substitution specially taught in this sūtra is, therefore, a jñāpaka and proves the existence of the following maxim :—अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीत् बहिरङ्गोलुभवाथते 'a bahiranga substitution of लुक् supersedes even antaranga rules'. Thus गोमान् प्रियोऽस्य = गोमत् प्रियः; here the antaranga तुम् augment is superseded by the bahiranga लुक् ॥ This sūtra further indicates, that all other substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' which take place in the singular, such as तथ, मम, तुम्य, महा, त्व, अह, do not take effect, before general affixes or in compounds, but that त्व and म are the only substitutes there even. As तुम्यं हितं = त्वाद्वितं, मद्वितं ॥ तथ पुत्रः = त्वत्पुत्रः, मतपुत्रः ॥

त्रिचतुरोळियां तिसूचतस् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रि, चतुरोः, लियाम्, तिसूचतस् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि चतुर् इत्यतयोः लियां वर्तमानयोस्तिसूचतस् इत्यतावादशौ भवतो विभक्तौ परतः । वार्तिकम् ॥ तिसूभावै सज्जायां कन्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चतसर्याद्युदात्त निपातनं कर्तव्यम् ॥

99. तिसू is substituted for त्रि. and चतस् for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

Thus तिसूः, चतसः, तिसुभिः, चतसुभिः ॥ Why 'in the Feminine'? Observe चयः, चत्वारः, चीणि, चत्वारि ॥ The word लियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर्, and not the word लुक् 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियास्तिसौ ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसौ ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1. 94) प्रियतिसौ, प्रियतिसौः ॥ The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 ordaining र ॥ प्रियतिसू ब्राह्मणकुलं, प्रियतिसृणी, प्रियतिसृणि ॥ Similarly प्रियचतसा, °चतसौ, °चतसौणी, °चतसौणि ॥ The samāsānta affix कष् (V. 4. 153) is however not added in the above, because तिसू &c are bahiranga substitutions. Conversely, the anga may be feminine, but if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्त्वयोऽस्याः or प्रियाणि चीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियत्रिः 'a Brahmani to whom three are beloved.' dual. प्रियत्रीः, प्रियत्रयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वारः, प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः ॥

Vārt.—The substitution of तिसू for त्रि takes place before the affix कष्; as तिसूका नाम आमः ॥

Vārt.—चतस् has acute on the first, as चतसः पद्य ॥ Rule VI. 1. 167 does not apply. But चतसृणौ according to VI. 1. 179: the हलादि debars the निपातन accent.

अचि र ऋतः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, र, ऋतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसू चतस् इत्यतयोर्ज्ञतः स्थाने रेफादेशो भवति अजादौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

100. र् is substituted for the ऋ of तिसू and चतस् before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus तिक्षः (in तिक्षस्तिवृत्ति, तिक्षः पञ्च) चतुर्स्तिंश्चत्ति, चतुर्सः पञ्च ॥ प्रियतिक्ष आनय, प्रियचतुर्स आनय; प्रियतिक्षः स्वम्, प्रियचतुर्सः स्वम् ॥ प्रियतिक्षि निधेहि, प्रियचतुर्सि निधेहि ॥ This supersedes VI. I. 102 (ordaining the single long substitution of the form of the first), VI. I. 111 (substitution of उर् for चत्), and VII. 3. 110 (the substitution of guṇa). The last rule VII. 3. 110, though subsequent in order, is however superseded by this rule. Why 'before the affixes beginning with a vowel?' Observe तिक्षाभिः, चतुर्साभिः ॥ The चत् of the sūtra refers to the चत् of तिक्ष् and चतुर्स् and not to a चत् ending stem in general: and had it not been used in the sūtra, the latter would have stood thus अचिरः: "इ् is substituted for the final of the words above-mentioned before an affix beginning with a vowel." So इ् would have been substituted for the final of भिः and चतुर् also.

जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जरायाः, जरस्, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जरा इवेतस्य जरसित्यनादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यामजातौ विभक्तौ परतः ।

101. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

As जराया or जरासा, in जरसा or जरायादन्ता: शीर्षते ॥ जरायै or जरसे (जरसे or जरायै स्वा परिदृश्युः) ॥ But only जराभ्याम्, जराभिः before an affix beginning with a consonant. The जरस् substitution takes place in the Neuter plural, when the augment तुम् is added: as अतिजरांसि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥ In अतिजरसं ब्राह्मणकुलं पञ्च the affix is not elided. The form is thus evolved: अतिजर + अम् ॥ Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first, luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. I. 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. I. 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by this rule. Of these लुक-*elision* is superseded by अम् of VII. I. 24 which is an exception to VII. I. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of this sūtra. जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अतिजरस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अतिजरसं ॥ In the Nom. Sg. and Ins. Pl we have अतिजरं and अतिजरैः: according to the opinion of Gonardiya. The reason being सान्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य 'that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination'. Because अम् was added to अतिजर because it ended in अ (VII. I. 24), and similarly भिः was replaced by एस् (VII. I. 9). Now अ has caused the production of अम् and एस्, therefore, these latter affixes, though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस् to be substituted for जर by this rule, for then the produced will cause the destruction of the producer. Others hold that the above maxim is anitya, and we have Nom. Sg. अतिजरसं, and Ins. Pl. अतिजरसैः ॥

The form अतिजरांसि is thus evolved अतिजर + इ ॥ Here if the तुम् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the अर्गा, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the अर्गा. But this

augment will be an intervention with regard to जरा which is but a portion of the word अतिजर ॥ So that an operation applicable to जरा will not take effect, because of this तुम् intervention. And though tadantaviddhi applies in these chapters (पदांकृतिकरे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिष्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जरा which forms only a portion of a full word अतिजर ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the तुम् would be found after the स् of जरस् ॥ Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the तुम् should be added afterwards under VII. 1. 72.

The form अतिजरस् is thus evolved. We have अतिजर + अम् ॥ Here on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्य अनन्यत्वात्, we substitute जरस् for जर also, (for जर and जरा are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23 ordaining the luk of अम् and VII. 1. 24, teaching अम् ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

त्यदादीनामः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यदादीनाम्, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदित्येवमार्दीनामकारादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

102. For the final of त्यद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Thus त्यद्—स्यः, त्यौ, त्ये ॥ तद्—सः, तौ, ते; यद्—यः, यौ, ये; एतद्—एषः, एतौ, एते; इहम्—अहम्, इम्, इमे; अदस्—असौ, अम्, असी, इं, द्वौ, द्वाभ्याम् ॥ The tyadādi words extend upto हि in the list of the pronouns, for the purposes of this अ substitution. Therefore, the substitution does not take place here in भवत् which forms भवान् ॥ When the word त्यद् &c are employed as names, or as a secondary member in a compound, the substitution does not take place, as त्यद्, त्यदौ, त्यदः, अतित्यद्, अतित्यदौ, अतित्यदः See also I. 1. 27 commentary. But when they form the principal member of a compound, the substitution takes place, as परमसः, परमतौ, परमते ॥ For case affix (vibhakti) see V. 3. 1. also. Those affixes are also called vibhakti and cause these substitutions.

किमः कः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किमः, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किम् इत्येतस्य क इत्यथमादेशो भवति विभक्तौ परतः ।

103. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकृच् is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For स् of किम् being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced by अ, had the sūtra been किमोऽत् and the forms would have been the same (क् + अ + अ = क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1. 13 &c.

कु तिहोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु, तिहोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ लकारादौ च विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य कु इत्यथमादेशो भवति ।

104. कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः, कुञ्च, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7). The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥

काति ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, आति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीतेतस्यां विभक्तौ परतः किमित्येतस्य कु इत्यमादेशो भवति ।

105. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V. 3. 13).

As कु गमिष्यति, कु भौक्षयते ॥ The substitute कु of the last rule, before the affix अ would have become कु, but that it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किमोऽङ्गत् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः ॥ १०६ पदानि ॥ तदोः, सः, सौ, अनन्त्ययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्यशीर्णां तकाराकारयोरनन्त्ययोः सकारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

106. For the non-final त and द् of ल्यद् &c. there is substituted स् in the Nominative Singular.

As ल्यद् + सु = ल्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = स्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = स्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + स् (VII. 2. 102) = एस + अ + स् (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So असौ from अस्त् by the following sūtra. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69.

अदस औं सुलोपश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, औं, सुलोपश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदसः सौ परतः सकारस्य औकारादेशो भवति सोश लोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ औल्पपतिषेधः साकच्चाकाशा वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ उत्तरपदभूतानां त्यशीर्णामकृतसन्धीर्णामादेशा वक्तव्याः ॥

Kārikā अदसः सोर्भवेदौत्वं किं सुलापो विधीयते ।

हस्ताल्लुप्येत संबुद्धिनं हलः प्रकृतं हि तत् ॥

आप एत्वं भवेत्तस्मिन्न इत्नात्यनुवर्तनात् ।

प्रत्ययस्थाप्ता कादित्वं शीभावश्च प्रसङ्गयते ॥

107. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nomi. affix सु is elided.

As अदस् + सु = अद् + औ + सु (VII. 2. 107) = अस + औ (VII. 2. 106) = असौ ॥

Vart:—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative त is added after स्, as असुकः or असकौ ॥

Vart:—When ल्यद् &c. form second members of a compound, the above mentioned substitutions take place before the application of sandhi: as परमाहम्, परमायम्, परमनिन् ॥

The form असुकः is thus evolved :—अदकस् + सु, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes

place, and the इ is changed to स् by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अक्ष् after स् is changed to ए ॥

The following observations may be made with regard to the forms परमाहम् &c. A substitute would be a bahirāṅga with regard to a case-affix that should be added to a compound. Therefore, being an antaraṅga rule, the ekadeśa should be made first, and this ekadeśa being considered as the beginning of the subsequent word, we should get erroneous forms like परमहम्. परमयं instead of परमाहम् and परमायम् &c. Hence the necessity of the above vārtika.

Kārikā—Let the sūtra be अदस् औ without the words मुलोपश्च ॥ The word सौ is understood here from the preceding aphorism. The word अदसः is in the ablative case, the word सौ which is in the 7th case, should be changed here into the 6th case सोः ॥ The sūtra would then mean अदस उत्तरस्य सौरैकारो भवति—औ is substituted for the सु after अदस् ॥ Then the final अस् of अदस् is changed to ए by VII. 2. 102, and ए is changed to स् by VII. 2. 106, and we have असौ ॥ So where is the necessity of using the words मुलोपश्च in the sūtra.

Obj: If औ be substituted for सु, then in the vocative this औ should be elided by VI. 1. 69, as it comes after a short vowel अ of VII. 2. 102. Ans. औ will not be elided by VI. 1. 69, for that rule refers to the elision of a consonantal affix only, the word हृः being understood in that sūtra, from the preceding sūtra VI. 1. 68.

Obj: If this be so, then in the Feminine Vocative we have असा+औ, and by the rule VII. 3. 106, the आ should be changed to ए before this औ ॥ Ans. No, this will not be so, for the ए substitution takes place only before a स्वर् beginning affix, for the word श्वलि is understood in the sūtra VII. 3. 106 from the sūtra VII. 3. 103.

Obj: If this be so, then in the feminine with अक्ष्, we have, असका+औ, and here rule VII. 3. 44 shows itself and requires the अ of स to be changed to ए (असिका) before the क of an affix. Ans. That rule VII. 3. 44 applies where the feminine affix आ is audible and remains unchanged, but here it is changed to औ (Vṛddhi अ + औ = औ, in असकी ॥)

Obj: But then in असा+औ, the औ would require to be changed to शी by VII. 1. 18. Ans. This objection is partial only, for औङ् in VII. 1. 18 is explained by some, to be the common name given by ancient grammarians to the औ of Dual; and not to this शी; moreover, in the masculine no objection can apply. Hence the words मुलोपश्च may well be omitted.

इदमो मः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः, मः ॥
यूनिः । इदमः सौ परतो मकारोन्तादिशो भवति ।

108. म् is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

As इयम्, अयम् ॥ The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the अ् substitution of VII. 2. 102. The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and अ् substituted by VII. 2. 110.

दथ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः । इत्मो उक्तारस्य स्थाने मकारादेशो भवति विभन्नो परतः ।

109. And म् is substituted for the द् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमी, इमे, इमम्, इमो, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम्+अम्=इदम्+अम् (VII. 2. 102)=इमअ+अम् (VII. 2. 109)=इमम् (VI. 1. 97, 107).

यः सौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, सौ, ॥

वृत्तिः । इत्मो मकारारस्य उक्तारादेशो भवति सौ परतः ।

110. य् is substituted for the द् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. in the feminine.

As इयम् ॥ This is confined to the Feminine, as the following sūtra relates to the masculine; and in the Neuter, the म् is लुक् elided by स्वनोन्पुसकान् and so leaves no trace behind.

इदोऽयं पुंसि ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदः, अय्, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः । इत्म इद्वप्स्य पुंसि सौ परतो यः इत्ययमादेशो भवति ।

111. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sg. masculine.

As अयम् ॥ In the Feminine इयम् ॥ As अयं आद्यणः, and इयं आद्यणी ॥

अनाप्यकः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन, आपि, अकः, ॥

वृत्तिः । इत्मो उक्तारस्य इद्वप्स्य स्थाने अन इत्ययमादेशो भवति आपि विभन्नो परतः ।

112. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क is added by V. 3. 71"?

Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of ए (Ins. Sg), and प् of मुप् (Loc. Pl.).

हलि लोपः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः । हलादै विभन्नो परत इत्मो उक्तारस्य इद्वप्स्य लोपो भवति ।

113. The इद् of इदम् is elided before a case-affix beginning with a consonant.

As आभ्याम्, एभिः, (VII. 1. 11) एःयः एषाम्, एषु ॥ For म् is substituted अ by VII. 2. 102, and for अ+अ=अ by VI. 1. 97. The rule I. 1. 52 by which a substitute replaces only the final letter, does not apply here, on the maxim मानर्थके अलोऽन्त्यविधिः ॥ For no purpose is served by eliding merely the final म्.

of इदम् ॥ Hence इट् is elided. Or it may be said that the sūtra does not teach the elision of इट्, but of अन् which was substituted for इट् by the preceding sūtra.

मृजेवृद्धिः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, वृद्धिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्ताविति निवृत्तम् पूर्णेरुपस्य इको वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

114. The Vṛiddhi (आट्) is substituted for the root vowel (ऋ) of the stem मृज् before an affix.

As मार्द्, मार्दुम्, मार्दव्यम् ॥ The शूल here is a root, and the affixes before which this Vṛiddhi takes place are those which come after roots, and not which come after Prātipadikas. Therefore, not before the affixes अं &c, as कंसपरिमृद्धयाम्, मृद्धमिः ॥ The anuvṛitti of the word vibhakti has ceased. This sūtra debars guṇa of VII. 3. 84.

अच्चो अणिति ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अ॒, णिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताङ्गस्य भिति णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

115. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ् or ए, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः, (III. 3. 20) द्वौ शूर्पनिषायौ, कारः and हारः (with अ॒); गौ॑, गावौ, गावः, सखायौ, सखावः where the case-endings are णित् by VII. 1. 90, 92, जैव्रम्, यौव्रम् with the Unādi द्वृष्ट from जि and यु ॥ च्यौवः with ब्रण् and means 'strength'. It is an obsolete Vedic word.

अत उपधायाः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गोपधाया अकारस्य स्थाने भिति णिति च प्रत्यये वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

116. In a stem ending in a consonant with an अ immediately preceding it, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for such अ, when an affix having an indicatory अ् or ए follows.

As पाकः, लागः, वागः with अ॒, पाचि with the causative णि, पाचकः with णुल् ॥ Why do we say 'अ'? Observe भैवयति, भैशकः with guṇa only from भिद् where इ is penultimate and not अ ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe चकासयति, तक्षकः ॥

तद्वितेष्वचामादेः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वितेषु, अचाम, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विते भिति णिति च प्रत्यये परतोङ्गस्याचामादेचःस्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

117. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ् or ए follows.

As गार्वः from गर्ग + अ॒, so also वास्यः ॥ दाक्षिः (दक्ष + इ॒), द्वाक्षिः, औपगवः (with अ॒ from उपगु), कापठवः &c. This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 and 116, as लाङः from लवृह्, and जागतः from जगत् ॥

किति च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किति, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किति च तद्विते परतोऽस्याचामादेरचः स्थाने वृद्धिभवति ॥

118. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory क् follows.

As नाडावन् with कक्, so also आरयणः (IV. 1. 99), and आक्षिकः and शालाक्षिकः with टक् (IV. 4. 1).



ओ३८।

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

देविकांशशपादित्यवाह्नीर्धसत्रश्रेयसामात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ देविका, शिशपा,
दित्यवाह्नी, दीर्घसत्र, श्रेयसाम, आत् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ देविका शिशपा दित्यवाह्नीर्धसत्र श्रेयस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचामोदरचः स्थाने वृद्धिप्रसङ्गे आकारो
भवति जिति जिति किति तद्विते परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहीनरस्येद्वचनम् ॥

1. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory श्, ए or अ follows, आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following: devikā, simsapā, dityavāt, dīrghasatra, and sreyas.

Thus शविकम् (=देविकावा भवत्) in शविकमुदकम्; शविकाकूला: शालयः (=देविकाकूले भवाः); पूर्वशाविकः from पूर्वशाविका 'the name of a village of the Eastern people'. Here the vṛiddhi of the second member ordained by VII. 3. 14, becomes आ ॥ Similarly शांशपञ्चमसः: (=शिशपाथाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palāśādi class (IV. 3. 141), and takes अष्ट or अञ्च, the difference being in accent. So also शांशपास्थलाः (=शिशपास्थले भवाः); and पूर्वशांशप from पूर्वशांशपः 'the name of a village' See VII. 3. 14. Similarly शात्यौहम् from दित्यवाह्नी (दित्यवाह्नी) and शर्धसत्रम् (शंघसत्रे भवं) and श्रायसश् (श्रेयसि भवं) ॥

Vārtā:—The Vṛiddhi of वहीनर under similar circumstances is with an ए as if व was वि, as वहीनरस्यापत्यं=वैहीनरः ॥ Some say the original word itself is विहीनर (विहीनोनारः), and so its taddhita derivative is regular.

केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ केकय, मित्रयु, प्रलयानाम,
य-आदेः, इयः, ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ केकय मित्रयु प्रलय इत्येतेषां यकारावेरिय इत्यग्नेवेषो भवति तद्विते जिति जिति किति च परतः ॥

2. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ्, ए् or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केक्य, मित्र्यु and प्रलय॥

As केक्यः (=केक्यस्यापत्वं), with the affix अभ् (IV. 1. 168): similarly मैत्र्यका formed with इय् (V. 1. 134) in the sentence मैत्र्यक्या इश्वरतः ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V. 1. 134 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रलयम् (=प्रलयादागत). As प्रलयमुदके ॥

न ख्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वीं तु ताभ्यामैच् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ख्वाभ्याम्, प-दान्ताभ्याम्, पूर्वीं, तु, ताभ्याम्, ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य अचामादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति; ताभ्यां तु यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्वमैत्र्य-गमी भवता यिति यिति किति च तद्विते परतः ॥

यात्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां भवाने टिलोपः ॥

3. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is ऐ is placed before य्, and औ before व् ॥ As वैयसनम् from व्यसन; (व्यसने भवे) वैयाकरणः from व्याकरण (व्याकरणमधीते) सौवभ्यः from स्वभ्यः (स्वभस्यापत्वं) ॥ Why after य् or व् only? Observe चार्यः son of चर्यः ॥ Why do we say 'य् or व् final of a pada or word'? Observe यादीकः from यादिः, (यादिः प्रहरणमस्य) IV. 4. 59 याता from यत्ते (यत्ते भाचाचाः or यत्ते इम छाचाः) ॥ The rule does not apply to शास्त्राभ्यं विद्याभ्यं and माध्वाभ्यं, for no rule ordains the Vṛiddhi of ध्य or ध्व, and so no occasion for the prohibition of this rule arises. These are Patronyms formed by इय् (IV. 1. 95) from इय्यम् and मध्वम् (शषि यियोऽस्यायस्य &c.). The present rule applies to that Vṛiddhi also which takes place in the second member of the compound by VII. 3. 10 &c. As पूर्वत्रैयालिनः from पूर्वत्रैयालिन् (पूर्वत्रैयालिन् भवते) ॥ But this prohibition does not apply where the य् or व् are not the parts of the second member, as द्वारादीनां च (=द्वे अशीती भूतो, भूतो भावी च) ॥

द्वारादीनां च ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वार, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वार इत्यवमादीनां ख्वाभ्याम् उत्तरपदस्याचामादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वीं तु ताभ्यामैजागमौ भवतः ॥

4. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory अ्, ए् or क् the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semi-vowels in द्वार &c.

As द्वार नियुक्तः = दौवारिकः, दौवारपालम् from द्वारपाल ॥ The Tadādi rule applies here. सौवरः from स्वर, (स्वरमधिकृत्य कृतो भन्यः) ॥ So also सौवरोऽध्यायः, सौवर्यः सप्तम्यः ॥ वैयलक्षणः from व्यलक्षण, (व्यलक्षणे भवते) सौवस्तिकः from स्वस्ति, (स्वस्तीति आह) सौवः from स्वर, (स्वर्भवः) ॥

Vārt:—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables : as सौवर्गमिकः (=स्वर्गमनमाह) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of स्व + अध्याय (शोभनोदध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्फैयकृतः from स्फैयकृत ; सौवादुष्टुम् from स्वादुष्टु, शौवनम् from श्वन् the prakṛiti-bhāva is by (VI. 4 167) while शौवम् from श्वन् where there is no prakṛitibhāva (by अच. IV. 3. 154) : शौवदंष्ट् (श्वादंष्ट्र्यां भवः). Similarly सौवम् from स्व (=स्वस्येदं) ; सौवमामिकः from स्वमाम with the affix अम् (अध्यात्मविलाप अम्). This sūtra is made because the य and व here are not finals of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra. The following is a list of Dvārādi words.

1 द्वार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यत्क्षा, 5 स्वत्ति, 6 स्वर् (स्वर), 7 स्फैयकृत, 8 स्वादुष्टु, 9 भस्*, 10 श्वन्, 11 स्व ॥

न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यग्रोधस्य, च, केवलस्य, ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ न्यग्रोधशाद्वस्य केवलस्य यकारादुन्नरस्याचामादेचः यथाने वृद्धिर्न भवति तस्माच्च पूर्वमैकार आगमो भवति ॥

5. ऐ is placed before the य of न्यग्रोध, instead of Vṛiddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicatory अ, ए or क ॥

As नैयमोधश्वसः (=न्यग्रोधस्य विकारः). Why do we say 'when it is alone'? Observe न्यग्रोधमूल भवाः शालयः = न्यग्रोधमूलः ॥ If न्यग्रोध is a derivative word (from न्यग्रोहयति = नीचैर्गतौ परोहैवधते), then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 3, this separate, sūtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it is a primary word, then this sūtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñāpaka that the rule of Tadādi applies in this section. See VII. 3. 8, also.

न कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे यदुन्नं तत्र भवति ॥

6. The prohibition and the augment, ordained by VII. 3. 3, do not apply to a word which expresses the reciprocity of an action.

As व्यावक्रोशी, व्यावेल्खी, व्याववर्ती, व्यावहासी ॥ See III. 3. 43 and V. 4. 14.

स्वागतादीनां च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वागत, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ स्वागत इत्येवमादीनां यदुन्नं तत्र भवति ॥

7. The prohibition and augment taught in VII.
3. 3 does not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (=स्वागतमिति आह) स्वाच्छिकः, (=स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्यादिः: (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyāda). व्यावहारिकः and स्वप्रेतयः (=स्वपतौ साधुः) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by the last sūtra. स्वपत्र being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4 as it is included in the Dvārādi list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svāgatādi words.

1 स्वागत, 2 स्वधर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्याड, 6 व्यवहार, 7 स्वपत्र ॥

श्वादेहिजि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, आदेः, इजि ॥

वृच्चिः ॥ श्वादेहिजस्य इभि परतो यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकादिमहणं कर्तव्यं पूर्वगणिकाचर्यम् ॥

8. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इच्, is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of श्वभस्त्र is श्वाभस्त्रिः, so also श्वादांश्ट्रिः ॥ The word श्वन् is included in the list of Dvārādi words VII. 3, 4, the present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vārti:—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows; as श्वगणेन चरति = श्वागणिकः, श्वाशूषिकः (IV. 4. 11).

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इच् (an affix beginning with इ): as from श्वाभस्त्र we have श्वाभस्त्रम् (श्वाभस्त्रिर्दि) ॥

पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृच्चिः ॥ श्वादेहिजस्य पदशब्दान्तस्यान्यतरस्यां यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

9. The rule VII. 3. 4. is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद ॥

As श्वापइस्येऽं = श्वापदम् or शौवापदम् ॥

उत्तरपदस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर पदस्य ॥

वृच्चिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्यमधिकारः, हनस्ताचिष्णलोरिति प्रागेतस्मात् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकामिव्याम उत्तर-पदस्येत्येवं तदेवित्यम् ॥

10. Upto VII. 3. 31 inclusive, the substitution of Vṛiddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should

be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11, the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्षिकं, अपरवार्षिकम्, पूर्वहैमनम्, अपरहैमनम्॥

In those sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 (अवयवात्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi'. This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

अवयवादतोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवात्, अतुतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवयववाचिन उत्तरस्य अतुवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेवर्चो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भिति जिति किति च परतः ॥

11. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्षिकम्, पूर्वहैमनम्, अपरवार्षिकम्, अपरहैमनम्॥ The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c takes place by II. 2. 1. and then by IV. 3. 18 there is अक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हैमन्त with the elision of त by IV. 3. 22. The Tadanta-vidhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: but tadanta-vidhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion. We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हैमन्त being formed from हैमन्त by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22), the affix अण् will be applied to हैमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (अतोवृद्धि माहिधावयवात् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāshya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वासु वर्षासु भवं पौर्ववार्षिकम् with अध् (IV. 3. 11). The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

सुसर्वाद्वाजजनपदस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, सर्व, अद्वाति, जनपदस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु सर्व अद्वा इत्यतेष्य उत्तरस्य जनपदवाचिन उत्तरपदस्याचामादेवर्चो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भिति जिति किति च परतः ॥

12. After सु, सर्व and अध्, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory अ्, ए् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with उभ् (IV. 2. 125). This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वार्थविकृं शब्देऽयो जनपदस्य “The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word”. As shown in the above examples, and for direction denoting words see the following sūtra. (I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāshya).

दिशो मद्राणाम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिशः, अ मद्राणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिशाचिन उच्चरस्य जनपदाचिनो मद्रवर्जितस्याचामादेरचोवृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते जिति जिति किति च परतः ॥

13. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र, gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः, दक्षिणपाञ्चालकः, उच्चरपाञ्चालकः (IV. 2. 125, 107, 108. VI. 2. 105 accent). The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say ‘denoting direction’? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां = पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र भवः = पौर्वपञ्चालकः, आपरपञ्चालकः ॥ With मद्र we have पौर्वमद्रः, आपरमद्रः with अभ् (IV. 2. 108). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, ग्राम, नगराणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे ग्रामनगराणां दिश उच्चरेषामचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते जिति जितिकिति च परतः ॥

14. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a village or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामशमः, अपरेषुकामशमः, पूर्वकार्षण्यवृत्तिकः, अपरकार्षण्यवृत्तिकः (IV. 2. 107). These are village names. पूर्वपाटलिषुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिषुत्रकः; पूर्वकान्यकुञ्जः, अपरकान्यकुञ्जः ॥

The word प्राचां in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24, does not here mean ‘the eastern grammarians’, but ‘the eastern countries’, because of the context. पूर्वेषुकामशमः is thus formed. पूर्वा च असौ इषुकामशमी = पूर्वेषुकामशमी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. Then the affix अ is added to it, in the sense of ततो भवः by IV. 2. 107. In पूर्वपाटलिषुत्रकः the affix उभ् is added by IV. 2. 123. Though Pāṭaliputra is ‘the name of one city’, Purva-pāṭaliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra.

That place is called ‘grāma’, where people reside, and a ‘nagara’ is also a ‘grāma’ in this sense. Therefore, the rules which good men observe with regard to ‘grāma’, are observed by them in ‘nagara’ also. Thus the rule is अभक्ष्ये ग्रामकुरुटः, therefore, the नागर cock is also not eaten. So also मासे नाध्ययम् is applied to nagara also. In this grammar also, we see that ‘grāma’ includes

'nagara' also, as in IV. 2. 109, 117, VI. 2. 103. Therefore, where is the necessity of employing the word नगर separately in this aphorism? The two words are separately used, in order to indicate the separate nature and relation of the two kinds of words. The *full* word पूर्वेषुकामशमी is the name of a 'grâma', and not the portion इषुकामशमी ॥ But in पूर्वपाटलिपुत्र, the word पाटलिपुत्र itself is the name of the 'nagara'. In the present sûtra, there is the adhikâra of अङ्गस्य and of उच्चरपदस्य ॥ We apply these separately to these two classes of words: namely आमवाचिनाम् अङ्गानाम् and नगरवाचिनाम् उच्चरपदानाम् ॥ This we could not have done without employing these words in the sûtra. Therefore, in the case of 'grâma' word, the vriddhi takes place in that *portion* of it which follows a direction denoting word (आमवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य दिक्शब्दादुच्चरपदस्य वृद्धिर्भवति). While a *nagara* word itself gets vriddhi when it is preceded by a direction denoting word (दिशः उच्चरेषां नगराणाम्) ॥ In पूर्वेषुकामशमी, the vriddhi of इषुकामशमी takes place first, and then the combination by sandhi. See on this point VII. 3. 22.

संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, संवत्सर, संख्यस्य, च ॥

दृच्छिः ॥ संख्याया उच्चरपदस्य संवत्सरशब्दस्य संख्यायाश्चामावेच्छः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भित्ति णिति क्रिति च परतः ॥

15. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vriddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory अ, ए, or क ॥

Thus द्विसांवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीषो भूतो भूतो भावी (V. 1. 80), त्रिसांवत्सरिकः, द्विषांविकः = द्वौ षटी अधीषो भूतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ द्विसामतिकः ॥ The words द्वि, षटी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16) and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kâlâdhikâra (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sûtra VII. 3. 17) implies that the word परिमाण in that sûtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than samvatsara, the Vriddhi takes place in the regular way : as द्वैसमिकः, त्रैसमिकः ॥ Similarly in sûtra IV. 1. 22, the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as द्विवर्षा, द्विवर्षा माणविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sûtras (and elsewhere III. 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

वर्षस्याभविष्यति ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षस्य, अ-भविष्यति, ॥

दृच्छिः ॥ संख्याया उच्चरस्य वर्षशब्दस्याश्चामावेच्छो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भित्ति णिति क्रिति च परतः, स चेच्छदितो भविष्यत्येष्य न भवति ।

16. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vriddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or क, when the affix does not refer to a Future time,

As द्विवर्षे अधीटो भूतो भूतो वा =द्विवार्षिकः, त्रिवार्षिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिकः, त्रैवर्षिकः: "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवर्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भूत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विचेत् स सोमं पातुमहात् ॥ (= जीजि पर्याणि भावी). The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अधाष्ट and भूत (V. 1. 80), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the sentence and not by the taddhita-affix: as द्वै वर्षे अधीटो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यति =द्विवार्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः ॥१७॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणान्तस्य, असंज्ञा, शोणयोः॥
पृच्छिः ॥ परिमाणान्तस्याङ्गस्य संख्यायाः परं यदुत्तरपदं तस्याचामावैरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भिति णिति किति च परतः, संज्ञायां विषये शाणे चाचारपदे न भवति ॥

17. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As हौ कुडौ प्रयोजनमस्य = हौकौडविकः (V. 1. 109) ह्याभ्यां शुर्वर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं = हिसौवाणिकम् (V. 1. 37), विसौवाणिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V. 1. 29. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as हिसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly हिनैविककम्, विनैविककम् (V. 1. 30). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पञ्चलोहितिकम्, पञ्चकपालिकम् (= पञ्चलोहितः or कपलानि परिमाणमस्य V. 1. 30) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe हृशाणम्, त्रैशाणम् formed with अण् (V. 1. 35 and 36). Some read the sūtra as असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as हैकुलिजिकः (V. 1. 55 हैकुलिज प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जे, प्रोष्ठपदानाम् ॥

पृच्छिः ॥ जइति जातार्थो निर्दिश्यते । तत्र यस्तद्वितो विहितस्तस्मिन् भिति णिति किति च परतः प्रोष्ठपदानादुत्तरस्याचामावैरचो वृद्धिर्भवति ॥

18. In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क् ॥

The word जे means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. प्रोष्ठपद is the name of an asterism, the time appertaining there to is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अण् of IV. 3. 3, is elided by IV. 2. 4). प्रोष्ठपदाष्टु जातः = प्रोष्ठपदो माणवकः (with अण् IV. 3. 16). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यदा प्रोष्ठपदोमेघः (= प्रोष्ठपदाष्टु भवः) धर्मीमभिर्वर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भद्रपाद् are also to be included.

हृदगसिन्ध्वन्तं पूर्वपदस्य च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ हृद, भग, सिन्धु, अन्त, पूर्वपदस्य च ॥
पृच्छिः ॥ हृद भग सिन्धु इत्येवमन्तेष्ठे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्याचामावैरचो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते भिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

19. The Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग्, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क् ॥

As सुहृदयस्येद् = सौभार्द्दिम्, सौभाग्यम्, सौभाग्नेयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), सौभाग्निनेयः (IV. 1. 126). The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyānādi class (IV. 1. 126), and the affix दक् and इन् augment are added. सुभग also occurs in Udgātṛī class (V. 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vṛiddhi in the second member, As महते सौभग्याय ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly. Similarly from सकुसिन्धवः (= सकुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have सकुसैन्धवः (= सकुसिन्धुषु भवः) so also पानसिन्धवः ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhādi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed there-under.

The words सुहृद् and दुर्हृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4. 150. But the reading adopted by Kāśikā is सुहृदयस्येदम् ; so the word हृdaya is changed to हृdī by VI. 3. 50 or VI. 3. 51. The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or 'an ocean'.

अनुशतिकादीनां च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुशतिकादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशतिक इत्येवमादीनां चाङ्गानां पूर्वपदस्य चोच्चरपदस्याचामादेशः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते वित्ति णिति किति वा परतः ॥
वार्ताकम् ॥ कल्याण्यादीनामिनडितिनङ् ॥

20. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशतिक &c.

Thus (1) आनुशतिकम् (= अनुशतिकस्येदम्) V. 1. 21 and IV. 3. 120; (2) आनुहौडिकः (= अनुहोडेन चरति IV. 4. 8). (3) आनुसांवरणम् (= अनुसंवरणे शीयते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसांवत्सरिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by टङ् from अनुसम्बत्सरेण शीयते) (5) आंगारवैष्णवः (son of अङ्गारवेष्णु). (6) आसिहत्यम् (= असिहत्ये भवते). Some read this word as अस्यहत्य; this will also take अण् as belonging to विसुक्तादि class. As आस्यहात्यः (= अस्यहत्याद्वाऽस्मिन्नध्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्योहति; as आस्यैहतिकः (= अस्यहैतिः प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) वाष्णोगः (= वध्योगस्य अपत्यं). It belongs to Bidādi class. (8) पुस्करसरोऽपत्यं = पौस्करसादिः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi class. (9) आनुहरत् from अनुहरत् ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकतः belongs to Gargādi class. Its partonymic is कौरुकात्यः (11) कौरुवाड्यालः (कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवते) ॥ The affix तुङ् is not added here, because जनपदसमुदायो जनपदप्रहणेन शृण्यते ॥

(12) औदुकशौङ्किः (son of उदकशूङ्किः) ॥ (13, 14) ऐहलौकिकः, पारलौकिकः, from इहलौकः and परलौकः by adding टङ् in the sense of तत्र भवः (लोकोच्चरपदस्य च) ॥ (15) सार्वलौकिकः from सर्वलौकः by टङ् under V. 1. 44. (16) सार्वपोरुषम् from सर्वपुरुषः in the

sense of तस्येदम् ॥ (17) सार्वभौमः (= सर्वभूमनिमित्तं संयोगो or उत्पातो वा V. I. 41) ॥ (18) प्रयोगः—प्रायौगिकः (तत्र भवः, प्रयोगाधिदेवाधिभूतत्वध्यात्मादयः) (19) परस्ती—पारस्तैर्णेयः formed by इनय (IV. I. 126).

(20) So also of राजपुरुष before the affix श्वर्, as राजपौरुष्यम् ॥ Why do we say before श्वर् only? Observe राजपुरुषस्थापत्यं=राजपुरुषायणिः; formed by किञ्च (IV. I. 157).

(21) शतकुम्भे भवः=शतकौम्भः, (21 a) सौखशायनिकः from सुखशयन (21 b) पारसारिकः from परस ॥ (22) सौबनाडि=सूत्रनडस्थापत्यं ॥

This is an Akṛitīgāṇa class; therefore, we have forms like these, आभिगामिकः (आभिगममर्हति), आधिर्षेविकम् (अधिर्षेवेभवः), आधिभौतिकः; चातुर्वैद्यम् (चतुर्स एव विद्या) ॥ The affix श्वर् is added in svārtha.

1 अनुशतिक, 2 अनुहाड, 3 अनुसंचरण (अनुसंचरण), 4 अनुसंवल्सर, 5 अङ्गारवेणु, 6 असिहत्य (अस्यहत्य), 7 अस्यहत्ति, 8 वध्योग, 9 पुष्करसद्, 10 अनुहरत्, 11 कुरुकृत्, 12 कुरुपञ्चाल, 13 उदकशुद्ध, 14 इहलोक, 15 परलोक, 16 सर्वलोक, 17 सर्वपुरुष, 18 सर्वभूमि, 19 प्रयोग, 20 परस्ती, 21 राजपुरुषात् श्वर्यजिः; 22 सूत्रनड ॥ आकृतिगण, 23 अभिगम, 24 अधिभूत, 25 अधिर्षेव 26 चतुर्विद्या, 27 सुखशयन 28 शतकुम्भ 29 परस ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता-द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवताद्वन्द्वे च पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य चाचामोदरच्चः स्थाने वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते चिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

21. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory श्, ए॒ or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members a Dvanda compound of the names of Devas.

As अग्निमारुती in अग्निमारुतीमन्द्राहीमालभेत् ॥ अग्निमारुतं कर्म ॥ The rule applies to Dandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (शवि). Therefore, not here, स्कान्दविशाखौ देवतेऽस्य = स्कान्दविशाखः (IV. 2. 24). So also ब्राह्मप्रजापत्यम् by श्व from ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 26.

The short इ in the अग्नि in अग्निमारुतं, अग्निवारुणम् is by VI. 3. 28. A compound relates to a sūkta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to sacrificial offering.

नेन्द्रस्य परस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्द्रस्य, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्य परस्य वहनं तत्र भवति ॥

22. But the Vṛiddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory श्, ए॒ or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्रः, आनेन्द्रः ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्रान्न मेकादशकपालं चर्चं निर्वपेत् ॥ There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the अ or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148, and the other (i. e. the इ, coalesces with the last

vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अण = सोम + इन्द्र + अ = सोमे + न्द्र + अ ॥ Now, no vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form न्द्र, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim : बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोन्तरपदव्याः पूर्वं कार्यं भवति, पश्चादेकावेशः or in other words पूर्वोन्तरनिमित्तकार्यात् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गोऽप्येकावेशो न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does, even when it is antaranga, not take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound". It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वपुकामशम (VII. 3. 14) &c are constructed, otherwise इ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been व्रिद्धied.

दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, च वरुणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षादुन्तरस्य वरुणस्य यदुन्तं तत्र भवति ॥

23. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the व्रिद्धhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण, when a long vowel precedes it.

As एन्द्रावरुणम्, मैत्रावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणी &c. (VI. 3. 26). But आग्निवारुणीम् in आग्निवारुणीमन्द्राही मालमेत् when a short vowel precedes it. This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणी the इ of आग्न being lengthened by VI. 3. 27. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

प्राचां नगरान्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, नगरान्ते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेऽपूर्वपदस्यान्तरपदस्याचामादेत्त्वो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते ग्रिति णिति किति च परतः ॥

24. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, the व्रिद्धhi is substituted for the first vowels of both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the word नगर ॥

As साद्रनागरः (सुद्रनगरे भवतः), पौड्रनागरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माद्रनगरः, from महानगरः the city of the Northern people.

जङ्गलधेनुबलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदान ॥ जङ्गल, धेनु, बलज,
अन्तस्य, विभाषितम्, उत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जङ्गल धेनु बलज इत्यवमन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेत्त्वो वृद्धिर्भवति विभाषितमुत्तर मुत्तरपदस्य विभाषितं तद्विते ग्रिति णिति किति वा परतः ।

25. Before a Tahhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए्, or क्, the व्रिद्धhi is substituted for the first vowel of-

the compound ending in जङ्गल्, धेनु and वलज्, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरजङ्गलम् or कौरजाङ्गलम्, वैश्वधैनवम् or वैश्वधैनवम्, सौवर्णवलजः or सौवर्णवालजः॥

अर्द्धांतपरिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धांत, परिमाणस्य, पूर्वस्य, तु, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धशब्दान्परस्य परिमाणवाचिन उच्चरस्याचामादेरथः स्याने वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति तद्विते भिति णिति किति वा परतः ।

26. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए्, or औ्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्धे ॥

As अर्धाणिकम् or आर्धाणिकम्, अर्धकौडविकम् or आर्धकौडविकम् with उस (V. I. 18). Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धकौडविकम् only (=अर्ध-क्रोशः प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

नातः परस्य ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अतः, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धांतपरस्य परिमाणाकारस्य वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा भवति, तद्विते भिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

27. When the first vowel of the second member, preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or औ्; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or आर्धप्रस्थिकः (V. I. 18) ॥ अर्धकंसिकः or आर्धकंसिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe आर्धकौडविकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्याम् भवः = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vṛiddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vṛiddhi, in forming a Bahuvyāhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. as अर्धखारीभार्यः (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य) (वृद्धिनिमित्स्य च तद्वितस्य &c.) Wherever Vṛiddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvyāhi compound referring to a male person, वैयाकरणी भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणभार्यः ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by prohibition of Vṛiddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

प्रवाहणस्य ढे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवाहणस्य, ढे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्य ढे परत उच्चरपतस्याचामादेरथो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति ॥

28. Before the affix द (ए), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापद्य = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥ The affix दक् IV. 1. 123, is added, similarly प्रवाहणेयी भार्याऽस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 39, masculination prohibited). Or we may translate the sūtra as "Before the affix द, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi", and omit the rest. The masculination will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, (आते) ॥

तत्प्रत्ययस्य च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्प्रत्ययस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवाहणस्येति वर्तते, तदिति दप्रत्ययस्य प्रत्यवमर्थः, दक् प्रत्ययान्तस्य प्रवाहणशब्दस्य तद्वितेषु परत उच्चरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥

29. Even so in a new derivative from this stem ending in द, formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, and optionally for the first vowel of the first member, in प्रवाहणेय and प्रावाहणेय ॥

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापद्य = प्रावाहणेयिः or प्रवाहणेयः, प्रा or प्र-वाहणेयकम् ॥

नञ्जः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्जः, शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल, निपुणानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्ज उच्चरेषां शुचि ईश्वर क्षेत्रज्ञ कुशल निपुण इत्येतेषामाचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्भवति, पूर्वपदस्य वा भवति तद्विते चिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

30. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As अनौचम् or आनौचम्, अनैश्वर्यम् or आनैश्वर्यम्, अक्षैत्रश्यम् or आक्षैत्रश्यम्, अको शालम् or आकोशालम्, अनैपुणम् or आनैपुणम् ॥ Some say the optional vṛiddhi of the negative particle is an aprāpta-vibhāsha, no other rule would have caused its vṛiddhi had this rule not existed. They argue that by V. 1. 121, all affixes denoting भाव are prohibited after a Tatpurusha compound with the negative particle; therefore, the words शुचि &c, should be first developed by the addition of भाव-affixes, and then they should be compounded with the negative particle, which may be optionally vṛiddhied by this rule, which would apply to it, though it is not an aṅga, because the rule teaches vṛiddhi. Others controvert this opinion, and hold that other affixes causing vṛiddhi than भाव-affixes, also come after negative-Tatpurusha compounds, such as affixes denoting des-

endant &c: and भाव-affixes are added to Bahuvrīhi negative compounds also, therefore, the force of the anuvṛitti of अङ्, which is understood up to the end of the Seventh Adhyāya (VI. 1. 1), and *a fortiori* in this sūtra also, should not be set aside as the above interpretation would do. Moreover the full Taddhita compounds अभेदज्ञ and अनीश्वर are read in the list of Brāhmaṇādi words (V. 1. 124), and as such they take the भाव affix व्यञ् which would have *always* caused the vriddhi of अ, but for this sūtra which makes it optional. Therefore it is a prāpta-vibhāshā.

यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण ॥३१॥ पदानि ॥ यथातथ, यथापुरयोः, पर्यायेण ॥
कृत्तिः ॥ यथातथ यथापुर इत्यतयोनम् उत्तरयोः पर्यायेणाचामावेद्यो वृद्धिर्भवति तद्विते जिति णिति किति वा परतः ॥

31. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vriddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation.

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vriddhi, the words remain unchanged; and when these words are vriddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आयथातथम् or आयथातथम्, आयथापुर्यम् or आयथापुर्यम् ॥ The words अयथातथ and अयथापुर should be considered to belong, as negative compounds, to Brāhmaṇādi class (V. 1. 124): and take व्यञ् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds यथातथ and यथापुर are exhibited and are Avyayibhāvas (II. 1. 7), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened. According to Patanjali this sūtra is superfluous When the negative particle takes Vriddhi, the compound should be analysed as, न यथातथा = अयथातथा, अयथातथा भावः = आयथातथम् ॥ When the second member gets the vriddhi, the compound should be analysed as, यथातथा भावः = यथातथं, न यथातथम् = अयथातथम् ॥

हनस्तो ऽच्छिष्णलोः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, तः, अ, चिण् णलोः ॥
कृत्तिः ॥ तद्वितेविति निवृत्तम् । तत्संबद्धं किंतीत्यपि । उण्ठीति वर्तते । हनस्तकारावेद्यो भद्रति णिति प्रत्यये परतः चिष्णलौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

32. त् is substituted for the न् of the root हन् before an affix with an indicatory अ् or ए, which causes also the vriddhi of the penultimate अ, but the augment is not added before the Aorist-sign चिण्, nor before the Personal ending णल् of the Perfect.

The anuvṛitti of 'Taddhita' ceases, and with it that of कित् also which causes Vriddhi in Taddhita only. The णित् and णित् do govern still. Thus घातः (with एञ्), घातयति (with णिष्), घातकः (with एवुल्), साधुघातिन् with एम्; घातंघातम् with एषुल् ॥ But जयानि and जयन् with णिण् and णल् ॥ This sūtra has

reference to roots, and refers to those affixes only which come after roots (धातु-प्रत्यय), therefore not here वार्त्तनः from वृत्तहन् ॥

आतो युक्तचिण्ठकृतोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युक्त, चिण्ठ, कृतोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य चिणि कृति डिणति युगमामे भवति ।

33. A root-stem ending in आ receives the augment युक्त (य्), before the Aorist sign चिण्, and before a krit-affix with an indicatory अ् or ए्, which causes also the Vṛiddhi of the root-vowel.

As अश्वायि, अधायि with चिण्, शायः and दायकः; धायः, धायकः with य् and षुल ॥ Why चिण् and kṛit only? Observe इवै, इषै in the Perfect, and चौड़िः, बालाकः with इश् a Taddhita affix (IV. 1. '96). So also ज्ञा देवता अस्य = जः ॥

नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाचमे ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदात्तोपदेशस्य, मान्तस्य, अनाचमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्याङ्गस्याचमिवर्जितस्य चिणि कृति च डिणति यदुन्तं तत्र भवति ॥
या० ॥ अनाचमिकमिवनीनामिति वन्तव्यम् ॥

34. The Vṛiddhi is not substituted before the Aorist चिण् or a krit-affix with indicatory अ् or ए् for the vowel of that root which ends in म् and is acutely accented in its original enunciation (Dhātupāṭha), but not so in चम् after आ ॥

The vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ takes place before णित् and डित् affixes (VII. 2. 116), that vṛiddhi does not take place in the case of udātta roots ending in म् ॥ Thus अश्वामि, अत्तमि, and अद्वमि in चिण् ॥ Compare VI. 4. 92, 93. Similarly with कृत् affixes, as शमकः, तमकः, इमकः, शमः, तमः, इमः ॥ Why do we say 'acutely accented'? Observe, यामकः, रामकः ॥ How do you explain रथम् and रपरम्? These are irregular forms exhibited by Pāṇini himself in the Dhātupāṭha अडदथमे (Bhu. 380), यम रपरमे (Bhu. 1033) Why do we use "in the original enunciation or upadeśa"? So that the rule may apply to शमी इमी, तमी, but not to याममः, रामकः ॥ Here to the root शम्, तम् and इम् is added the affix घिनूण् (III. 2. 141). The words शमिन् &c. get the affix-accent, namely acute इ; and thus the root-vowel becomes anudātta. Though the root *now* becomes anudātta, yet because in its upadeśa it was udātta, the present sūtra will apply and prevent vṛiddhi. The roots यम्, रम् are anudātta in upadeśa, but in यामकः, रामकः they become udātta by लित् accent. This accent is a secondary accent and not the 'original' accent; and hence the present rule does not apply and there is vṛiddhi. Why do we say ending in म्? Observe यारकः, पाठकः ॥ Why with the exception of भाषम्? Observe भाचामकः ॥

Vārt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the roots आ-चम्, कम् and यम्, as वामः, कामः and भाषामः ॥ In the case of कम्, the affix घम् is added

in that alternative, when the root does not take the affix णिक् (III. 1. 31). It thus gets व्रिद्धि.

The word अमः is formed from the Churādi अम्, which with the affix णिक् gets Vriddhi, because णिक् is not a kṛit-affix, and is not therefore governed by this rule. If you say "let there be व्रिद्धि of णिक्, but this व्रिद्धि will be shortened by VI. 4. 92 because it is a मित् root", we reply "this root is not मित्" !! The मित् roots are those enumerated in Bhuādi class, subdivision घटादिः (800). No doubt, there it is said that the roots ending in अम् are मित् (in अमन्ताम्). But a root is regarded मित् only with regard to the Causative णिक् affix, and not with regard to that णिक् of the Churādi class where the sense of the causative is not involved in it. Therefore this root is not मित् (VI. 4. 93).

The phrases सूर्यविश्वामा भूमिः and others like it are incorrect. Why do we say 'णिक् and kṛit only'? Observe शशाम्, ददाम्, चचाम् !!

जनिवध्योऽम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि, वध्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनि वधि इत्येतयोऽभिनि कृति च इणिति यदुर्क्त तत्र भवति ।

35. The Vriddhi is not substituted for the vowels of जन् and वध् before the Aorist-sign चिण् and the kṛit-affixes with an indicatory अ् and ए् ॥

As अजानि and अवधि with चिण्, and जनकः and वधकः (with एहुल्), प्रजनः, वधः !! This rule refers to the separate and the distinct root वध and not to the substitute of हन् !! This we see in the line भक्षकवेत्र वियेत वधकोऽपि न विवरते !! The form from हन् will be घातकः !! Moreover the substitute वध ends with अ i. e. it is of two syllables 'badha', and as such it also does not admit Vriddhi. (See II. 4. 42). The prohibition refers to चिण् and kṛit-affixes, therefore not here, as जजान गर्भं महिमानमिन्द्रम् !!

अर्त्तिहीब्लीरीकनूरीक्षमाय्यातां पुड्णौ ॥ ३६ ॥ अर्त्ति, ही, ब्ली, री, कनूरी, क्षमायी, आताम्, पुक्, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वे निवृत्तमङ्गस्येति वर्तते । अर्त्ति ही ब्ली री कनूरी क्षमायी इत्येतपामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च पुगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

36. The augment उक् (ए) is added to the roots अ, ही, ब्ली, री, कनूरी, क्षमाय्, and to a root ending in long आ, when the affix णि (the Causative) follows.

As अर्पयति, हेपयति, लेपयति, रेपयति, क्षेपयति, क्षमापयति ॥ The anuvṛitti of every word other than अङ् (VI. 4. 1.) ceases. The ए of कनूरी and क्षमाय् drops by VI. 1. 66. The guṇa takes place by VII. 3. 86. Of the roots ending in long आ, we have शापयति, धापयति ॥ The root ए (Bhu. 983) गतिप्रापयण्योः, and ए (Juhotyādi 16) गतौ are both meant here. Similarly ए includes रीह् ऋणे (Dilādi 30), and री गात्रिष्यण्योः (Kryādi 30). The augment is added at the end of

the preceding stem of root, and not to the affix. Being added to the root it becomes part of the root-stem, and in forming the reduplicate Aorist of such stems, the vowel before य् is shortened by VII. 4. 1. If य् were not the part of the stem, that vowel would not be shortened. Thus from शापयात्; we have Aorist अशीपत् ॥

शाच्छासाह्वाव्यावेपं युक् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छा, सा, ह्वा, व्या, वे पाम्, युक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शा छा सा ह्वा व्या वे पा इत्येतेषामङ्गानां युगागमो भवति णौ परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लुगागमस्तु तस्य दन्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ धुम् प्रीत्योनुष्वन्तव्यः ॥

37. The augment युक्(य्) is added to the verbal stems शा, छा, सा, ह्वा, वे and पा before the affix णि (Causative).

As निशाययति, अवच्छाययति, अवसाययति, हाययति, संच्याययति, वाययति, and पाययति ॥ The word पा includes the root पा 'to drink'. (Bhu 972) प 'to dry' (Bhu 968), but not पा 'to protect' (Ad. 47); because the latter loses the शा॒ विकारा॑.

Vart:—The root पा 'to protect' takes the augment युक् before णि, as पालयति ॥

Vart:—The roots धुम् and प्रीत् take the augment युक् before णि, as धूनयति, प्रीणयति ॥

All these augments are added to the roots, in order that VII. 4. 1. should cause the shortening of the vowel preceding these. Thus the Aorist of the above are: अशीशयत्, अपीपलत्, अवृधूनत्, अपीप्रिणत् ॥

The roots शा, छा, सा, ह्वा, व्या and पा are exhibited as ending in long आ their Dhātupātha forms are शा, शा, छा, सै, सो, ह्वै, व्यै and पै ॥ This indicates that these roots would have taken युक् by the last sūtra, the word आत् 'ending in long आ' means the roots which actually end in long आ, as well as those which get long आ by VI. 1. 45. This also indicates, that in this subdivision or section, the maxim of lakṣhaṇa protipadokta &c does not apply. Therefore when the roots वा with आप, and वि assume the form अधि-आ and आ before the affix णि by VI. 1. 48, the augment युक् is added to them, thus अध्यापयति, जापयति ॥

वो विधूनने जुक् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, विधूनने, जुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वा इत्येतस्य विधूननर्ये वर्तमानस्य युगागमो भवति णौ परतः ।

38. वा gets the augment युक् (ज्ञ) before the affix णि when the Causative has the sense of 'shaking'.

As पक्षणोपवाजयति ॥ But आ वापयति केशात् when the sense is not that of shaking. This form could have been obtained from the root वज् 'to move', (Bhu 271) with the affix णि in the ordinary way without any augment. The special augment युक् to वा indicates that this root will not take युक्, which it would have otherwise done by the last sūtra. The root वा belongs to Bhu. 969 [ओवै शोषणे] ॥

लीलानुरुग्लकावन्यतस्यां स्नेहविपातने ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ली, लोः, नुक्, लुकौ,
अन्यतरस्याम्, स्नेह विपातने ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ली लो इत्यतयोरङ्ग्लयोरन्यतरस्यां तुक् लुक् इत्येतावागमौ भवतो जौ परतः स्नेहविपातनेर्थे ॥

39. The roots ली and ला get optionally नुक् and लुक् augment respectively, before the affix णि, when the causative means 'the melting of a fatty substance'.

As वि लीनयति, वि लालयति, वि लाययति, or वि लापयति धृतम् ॥ The augment नुक् is added to ली when the root ends in long ई, and that also optionally. When the augment is not added, the regular causative लोययति is formed. But when ली gets the form ला by VI. 1. 51, it does not take the augment नुक् ॥ The root ली includes both ली and लीङ् of Kryādi and Divādi. The root ला includes ला 'to give' (adādi 49), and का the form assumed by ली under VI. 1. 51. When लुक् is not added to ला, नुक् is added by VII. 3. 36. Why do we say when meaning 'to melt fat'? Observe only लोहं विलापयति, जटाभिरालापयते (I. 3. 70).

मियो हेतुभये षुक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ मियः, हेतुभये, षुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्य हेतुभयेऽप्युगागमौ भवति जौ परतः ॥

40. The augment षुक् is added to the root भी before the affix णि, when fear is caused immediately owing to the agent of the Causative.

As शुण्डो भीषयते, जटिलो भीषयते ॥ See I. 3.68. Here also भी with long ई being employed in the sūtra, indicates that षुक् is added then only, when the root has the form भी, but when it assumes the form भा by VI. 1. 56, the proper augment षुक् will come : as शुण्डो भाषयते ॥ Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is himself the direct cause of fear'? Observe कुञ्जिकवैनं भाययति, for here कुञ्जिका causes fear and not the agent of the verb. The ई is vṛiddhied and भाय् substituted.

स्फायो वा: ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, च: ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्फाय इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य वकारादेशो भवति जौ परतः ॥

41. For the final of the stem स्फाय् is substituted च् in the causative.

As स्फाययति ॥

शदेरगतौ तः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शदैः, अ गतौ तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शोदे रङ्गस्यागतावर्थे वर्तमानस्य तकारादेशो भवति जौ परतः ॥

42. For the final of the शद् is substituted त्, in the Causative, when it does not mean 'to drive'.

As उष्पाणि शातयति, फलानि शातयति, but गा: शातयति गोपालकः ॥

रुहः पोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुहः, पः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुहरङ्गस्यान्यतरस्यां पकारादेशो भवति जी परतः ॥

43. प् may optionally be substituted for the final of रुह in the Causative.

As श्रीहीन् रोपयति or रोहयति ॥ According to Padamanjari this sūtra could be dispensed with. The form रोपयति could be obtained from the root रुह् of Divādi class : which though meaning मोहन may be taken to mean 'grow' also; भनेकार्थत्वाद् धातूनाम् ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्यत इदाप्यसुपः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययस्यात्, कात्,
पूर्वस्य, अतः, इत, आपि, असुपः ॥

वृणः ॥ प्रत्यये लिष्टतीति प्रत्ययस्यः तस्मात् प्रत्ययस्यात्कात्कारात् पूर्वस्याकारस्य इकारादेशो भवति भापि
परतः स चेदाप्यसुपः परो न भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ मामकनरक्तयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यमप्रत्ययस्यात् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रत्ययनिषेधे यक्त्यपेच्छापसंख्यानपः ॥

44. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i.e. when such a word in अक् does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrīhi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्थ, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As जटि-
श्लिका, ईणिका, इत्तिका, कारिका, हारिका ॥ So also एतिका from एतद् + अक्ष् + आ॒
एतकद् + आप् ॥ The इ is then replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102). The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शका from शक शकाति ॥ The स्थ in प्रत्ययस्थ is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क् ॥ The rule applies to क्, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य)
क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as पदुका, इदुका ॥ The क् must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here औका, नौका, nor in राका, धाका ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आपि qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥ Obj. But in कारिका from कारक + आ, क् is not directly followed by आ, but by अ? Ans. When अ + आ = आ there is ekādeśa, the क् is followed by आ, there being no third letter intervening then. Obj. But an ekādeśa is sthānivat to what it replaces when a pūrva-vidhi is to be applied, therefore there still exists the intervention. Ans. The express text of this sūtra will remove the intervention. Obj. Then इ should be substituted in रथकच्छ and गर्गकाम्य ॥ These words are formed by the affixes कच्छ् and काम्य, as रथानां समृहः, (IV. 2. 51) and गर्गमित्ताति आत्मनः (III. 1. 9)=रथकच्छ and गर्गकाम्य ॥ Here also before the क् of the affix, the अ should be replaced

by इ, when the feminine affix आ is added: for there is no intervention between क् and आ (the intermediate letters being non-existent, as you say). Ans. We say that intervention is no intervention, when it consists of only one letter, which even does not *actually* exist, but only through the fiction of sthānivat. Therefore, the feminine of the above words will not take इ, as क् is not followed immediately (in the sense above expressed) by आप्, as रथकन्या and गामकन्या, because in these *actually* many letters are heard as intervening between the क् and आप् ॥

Why do we say असुपः 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहुवः परिव्राजका अस्यां मधुरायां = बहुपरिव्राजका मधुरायां। Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of ज is not changed to इ ॥ The case-affix is elided by II. 4. 71, and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62. The word असुपः is a प्रसञ्चयपतिषेधः ('a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified without mentioning what is different from it): and not a पर्युशसः or exception. Had it been a Paryudāsa, (मुपोऽन्यः = असुपः) then आप् coming after a full word not having a case-affix, would have caused the इ substitution in the last example. Nor should असुपः be explained as that in which there exists no case-affix. Had it 'been' so, then in बहुनि चर्माण्यस्यां = बहुचर्मिका no इ ought to be added.

Vārt :—मामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as नामिका, नरिका ॥ Here ममक् is substituted for मम before the affix अण् (IV. 3. 3), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word ममक takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30): therefore though मामक ends in अण्, it does not take डीप् (IV. 1. 15) but दाप् (IV. 1. 4), नरान् कायति = नरक formed with the affix क (अ III. 2. 3).

Vārt :—The rule applies to the words ending in खक् (IV. 2. 98) and खप्, (IV. 2. 104) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. As वाक्षिणात्यिका, इहत्यिका ॥

The word in the sūtra is कात् the fifth case of क ending in अ ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क and not in k क, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अकक् (अक्) with क्; the final अ in अकक् is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्नाकि, छिन्नाकि, रूपाकि ॥ The word कात therefore, is construed to mean ending in the consonant क ॥

न यासयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, या, सयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या सा इत्येत्येतिकारादेशो न भवति ॥

यार्जिकम् ॥ यत्तदेः प्रतिषेधे त्यक्त उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पावकादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आशिषि चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ क्षिपकादीनां चोपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ तरका ज्योतिष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ वर्तका तान्त्र उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टका पितृैवत्ये ॥ वा० ॥ वा सूतकापुत्रकावृद्धरकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

45. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका, सका ॥ The या and सा simply stand for यद् and सद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think. न यत् तदोः would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीते, तकां पचानहे ॥ Or यकांयकामधीमहे (i. e. यक्षां गायां च), and तकां तकाम्पचामहे (i. e. ओषधीं शाकिनीं वा)

Vārt—The affix य्यकन् (V. 3. 34) should be enumerated also along with यत् and तद् ॥ As उपस्थका, अधिस्थका ॥

Vārt—The feminine of पावक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः, यासु अ लोमकाः, ऋक्षकाः &c. But पार्विकाः, अलौमिकाः in secular literature.

Vārt—So also in the affix दुन् used in benediction: as जीवताद् जीविका, नन्दिताद् नन्दिका, भवताद् भविका ॥ See III. i. 150.

Vārt—So also when the second member is elided in a compound: as ईयका, यज्ञका, the second member इत्त is elided, the fuller forms being देवदत्तिका, यत्तर्तिका (अनजाहै च विनाशा लोपो वक्तव्यः) See V. 3. 83 *Vārt*.

Vārt—क्षिपक &c should be enumerated in this prohibition: as क्षिपका, धूषका, धूवका, चटका ॥

Vārt—सारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

Vārt—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāguri is a commentary of Lokāyata'

Vārt—वर्तका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vārt—अष्टका when meaning a पितृदैवत्य ceremony, but अष्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitridaiavatyā, the affix is यत् ॥ The former is derived from the root अश् with the affix तकन् (अदनान्ति ब्राह्मणा ओदनमस्याऽ), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V. i. 22).

Vārt—Optionally सूतका, पुत्रका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥

उदीचाम.तः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचाम, आतः, स्थाने, यक, पूर्वायाः, ॥

वृन्दिः ॥ उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन यकारपूर्वायाः ककारपूर्वायाश्वातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्यातः स्थाने इकारादेहो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यकपूर्वत्वे धात्वन्तप्रतिवेधः ॥

46. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by

shortening the long आ of the feminine (under rule VII. 4. 13 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As इभ्यका or इभ्यिका, शत्रियका or शत्रियिका, चटकका or चटकिका, मूर्षकका, मूर्षिकिका ॥ Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अश्वक-अश्विका only (from अश्वा) ॥ The word यक्तपूर्वाया: is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the *feminine* affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here शुभंयिका from शुभेया (शुभं याति). So also भद्रियिका from भद्रेया, where आ is part of the root या (see III. 2. 74).

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the य् and क् being finals of a root. When the य् or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply: as मुर्नायिका, मुशायिका, मुषाकिका, and अशोकिका ॥

Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe संकाश्ये भवा = संकादियका ॥ The word संकाश्य is formed from संकाश by the affix प्य (संकाशे निर्वृत्तं) ॥ Then is added the affix दुष्म (IV. 2. 121). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed. But in इभ्यका or इभ्यिका the long आ has been shortened. Because this word is thus derived: इभमहति = इया (इण्डादिभ्यायः V. 1. 66). To this क् is added, and the long आ is shortened.

Why is the word स्थान used in the sūtra, when by the general rule उद्धी स्थाने योगः this word would be understood here? The special mention is for the sake of pointing out that the अ which takes the place of आ is intended here: i. e. the इ replaces this short आ; but had the word स्थान not been used in the sūtra the इ would have replaced the long आ ॥

भस्त्रैषाजाङ्गादास्वा नभ्रपूर्वाणामपि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, झा, छा, स्वा, नभ्र, पूर्वाणाम, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्धीचामातः स्थान इति वर्तते ॥ आतः स्थाने योकारस्तस्य इत्वं न भवति उद्धीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

47. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क by VII. 4. 13), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, झा, छा (VII. 2. 102), and स्वा; even not then when the negative particle precedes them.

As भखका or भखिका, अभखका or अभखिका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, झका or झिका, अझका or अझिका, इके or हिके, स्वका or स्विका, अस्वका or अस्विका ॥ Of एषा and इति there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with नभ्र takes place after the addition of the अक्ल्, or on the contrary, if first अक्ल् be added and then the नभ्र compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102: and it is only when this अ is substituted that the fe-

minine दात् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and दात् comes after भूष, and therefore by the prohibition of भूषः in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore भूषका and भूषक are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle. स्व meaning agnates and property, takes the negative particle. भूषा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form, and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here: as अविद्यमाना भूषा अस्या = अभूषा, the Diminutive of which is अभूषका or अभूषिका ॥ Here first the भूषा is shortened as it is a secondary member (upasargana), then when the Bahuvrīhi is made, the feminine affix दात् is added to this भार्षिपुंस्क word, then this आ is shortened before क by VII. 4. 13. This short आ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

The force of अवि shows that the rule applies, when words other than न स also precede, and even when no words precede. As निर्भूषिका or निर्भूषका, बहुभूषिका or बहुभूषका ॥

Note—The form इके is from the word इकि, dual number, the final इ is changed to आ (त्यदात्व), then the feminine आ (दात्) is added (इका), and then शी is substituted for औ ॥

अभाषितपुंस्कात् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, भाषितपुंस्कात्, च, ॥

धृतिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्काद्विहितस्यातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्योदीचामाचार्याणांनेन इकारादेशो न भवति ॥

48. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an आ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

As खट्टका or खट्टिका, भखट्टिका or भखट्टिका, परमखट्टिका or परमखट्टिका ॥ When before the affix कात्, the stem is shortened in a Bahuvrīhi, this rule will apply (VII. 4. 15). There also, the श must be substituted for the आ of a feminine word which has no corresponding masculine. But this rule does not apply when the negative compound is the synthesis of अविद्यमाना खट्टा अस्या = अखट्टा, अल्पा अखट्टा = अखट्टिका ॥ Similarly अतिकाना खट्टाम् = अतिखट्टा, अल्पा अतिखट्टा = अतिखट्टिका ॥

Note—The word खट्टा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine.

आदाचार्याणाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ आत्, आचार्याणाम् ॥

धृतिः ॥ अभाषितपुंस्कावातः स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्याचार्याणामाकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word which has no corresponding masculine form.

As खद्वाका, भखद्वाका or परमखद्वाका॥

Note—The “Teachers” referred to here are either those other than the Northern Grammarians, or it may refer to the Teacher of Pāṇini, the plural being for the sake of respect. Thus there are three forms भखद्वाका, भखद्विका, and भखद्वाका॥

ठस्येकः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ ठस्य, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गस्य निमित्तं यष्टः, कश्चाङ्गस्य निर्मित्तं, प्रत्यय स्तस्य प्रत्ययठस्य इक इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

50. For ठ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

As आक्षिकः, शालाक्षिकः (ठक IV. 4. 1), लावणिकः (ठश IV. 4. 52). In the affixes ठक्, ठभ् &c, if the affix is the consonant ठ, and अ is only for euphony, then here also the अ is for pronunciation only: but if on the contrary, the aggregate ठ(अ+अ) is the affix, then the same is the case here. This rule does not apply in Unādi affixes always, as कणश् ठः = कण्ठः (Uṇ I. 103), for there is diversity (बहुल) in the Unādi.

माध्यिकिकः (=मध्यित्ते पञ्चमस्य IV. 4. 51) is thus formed मध्यित्ते + ठङ्ग = मध्यित्ते + इक् (VI. 4. 148 the अ is dropped). Now arises the doubt, should इक् be replaced by क as taught in the next aphorism VII. 3. 51, as it comes after a त् ॥ This substitution, however, does not take place, because it was इक् which caused the elision of अ, and now त् which became final by such elision cannot cause the destruction of इक् its producer (सत्रिपातलसंज्ञा विधिनामित्तं तदिधातस्य). Or the elided अ (VI. 4. 148) may be considered as sthāniyat, and would thus prevent क substitution.

There are two views about this ठ ॥ Some say that the consonant ठ only is the sthāni, and the अ is only for the sake of pronunciation. The others hold that ठ, the consonant and the vowel are sthāni in the aggregate. In the first view, the rule would apply to the consonant ठ at the end of roots like पद् in पठिता, पठितु; in the other view the rule would apply to the affix अठच् in कर्मठः॥ Hence, the commentary uses the word, that ठ must be the cause of अङ्ग ॥

इसुसुक्तान्तात्कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस, उस, उक्, त, अन्तान्त्, कः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येवमन्तानामुग्न्तानां तान्तानां आङ्गानामुक्तस्य ठस्य क इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ शोष उपसंख्यानम् ॥

51. क is substituted for ठ after a stem ending in इस्, उस्, उ or ऊ, उक् and त् ॥

As सार्पकः, धानुषकः, याजुषकः, नैषादकर्तुकः, शाम्वरजम्बुकः, मातृकम्, पैतृकम्, औद्धिक-

तृकः, शाक्तृकः, यातुरृकः ॥ The इृ and उृ are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, जातिवेकः (= भास्त्रिया चराति), औषिका (= उषा चराति) ॥

Vārtā—So also after शास्, as शैष्कः (शैष्यंचराति) ॥

The word सार्विद्धः is formed by उृक् of मदस्य पण्ड, (IV. 4. 51) and स is changed to ष by इृणः षः (VIII. 3. 39). भातुष्कः is by उृक् of पहरण् ॥ यातुष्कः is by उृक् of वीच्याति ॥ नैषादकर्षुषः &c by उृक् of भवावावर्णे ओवर्णे उृम् ॥ मातुष्कः by उृम् of तत भागतः, एवत्प्रभ ॥ औताम्बृष्टकः by उृक् (IV. 2. 19) शाक्तृकः by उृम् of संसृष्ट (IV. 4. 12).

चजोः कु घिष्ण्यतोः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चजोः, कु, घित्, प्यतोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारेकारयोः कंगर्गादेशो भवति विति प्यति अ प्रत्यये परतः ॥

52. For the final च् or ज् of a root, there is substituted a corresponding guttural, before an affix having an indicatory घ्, and before प्यत् ॥

As पाकः, त्वागः, रागः with घम्, and चाक्यम्, याक्यम् and रेक्यम् with प्यत् ॥ Compare VII. 3. 59.

न्यङ्कादीनां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न्यङ्कु, आदीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न्यङ्कु इत्येवमाशीनां कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

53. The guttural is substituted in न्यङ्कु and the rest.

Thus न्यङ्कु: from नि + अङ्कु + उः; So also मदृगुः ॥

(1) By the sūtra नावङ्क्तेः (Uṇ I. 17), the affix उ is added to the root अङ्कु preceded by नि ॥ (2) मदृगु is formed by adding उ to the root मद्ज (Uṇ I. 7) (3) भृगुः is formed by the affix उ added to the root भस्ज, the स् is elided, and र is vocalised (Uṇ I. 28). (4 and 5) दूरेपाकः, फलेपाकः formed by the अङ्कु affix of पचासि class, (= दूरे पच्यते स्वयमेव, फले पच्यते स्वयमेव) ॥ The व्रिद्धि is by nipātana. The seventh case-affix is not elided in these compound words by VI. 3. 14. (6) क्षणेपाकः ॥ This word is read by some. Others read these as दूरेपाका, फलेपाका with दात् ॥ A third reading is दूरेपाकुः फलेपाकुः, by the affix उ added irregularly. (7 and 8) तक्क and वक्क ॥ These are formed from the roots तञ्च and वञ्च with the affix रूक् Uṇ II. 13). (9) व्यतिषङ्कः: formed from व्यतिष्जाति with पचासि अङ्कु ॥ (10) अनुषङ्कः ॥ (11) अवसर्गः ॥ (12) उपसर्गः ॥ (13) मेषः ॥ (14) खपाकः ॥ (15) मांसपाकः ॥ (16) कपोतपाकः ॥ (17) उलूकपाकः ॥ (18) पिण्डपाकः formed by the affix अङ्कु with an accusative word in construction as upapada. (19) अर्धः when it denotes a name meaning 'price'. This is formed from the root अर्ह with the affix घम् ॥ When it is not a name, the form is अर्हः ॥ (20 and 21) अवाशः and निशाशः, when they are names meaning "Summer or Hot season". These are formed from the root रुह preceded by अव and नि ॥ But when they are not names, the forms are अवाहः, निशाहः ॥ (22) न्यग्रोधः: formed from the root रुह preceded by न्यङ्कु and by adding the पचासि अङ्कु ॥ The ह् is changed to घ् ॥ (23) वीरुत् ॥ Formed from रुह with वि and the affix विष्प, and ह् changed to घ् ॥ न्यग्रोहयाति and विरोहयाति ॥

1 न्यङ्कु, 2 महु, 3 भृगु, 4 दूरेपाक, 5 फलेपाक, 6 क्षणेपाक, 7 दूरेपाका, 8 फलेपाका, 9 दूरेपाकु, 10 फलेपाकु, 11 तक्क, 12 वक्क, 13 व्यतिषङ्क, 14 अनुषङ्क, 15 अवसर्ग, 16 उपसर्ग, 17 खपाक, 18 मांसपाक, 19 मूलपाक, 20 कपोतपाक, 21 उलूकपाक, 22 संज्ञावां मेषनिशाशवाशाधार्याः मेष 23 न्यग्रोध, 24 वीरुत् ॥

हो हन्तेर्णिक्षेषु ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, हन्तेः, त्रिणत्, नेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्हकारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति त्रिति निंति प्रत्येयं परतो नकारे च ॥

54. A guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् before an affix having an indicator अ्, or ए् and before च् ॥

As धातयति with णञ्, धतिकः with ष्वल्, साधुष तिन् with इम्, धातंधातव् with णम्बुङ्, धातः with घञ्, धन्ति, धन्तुम्, and अभ्वन् before च् ॥ Why do we specify ह्? Otherwise the substitute would replace the final letter. Why of हन्? Observe प्रहारः, प्रहारकः ॥ ण् and ए् qualify the affixes, and च् means the च् of हन् which becomes joined with ह् when the intermediate अ् is dropped. This च् comes in immediate contact with ह्, because it is *heard* in pronouncing, and in writing. If the elided अ् be considered as sthānivat, then ह् can never be followed by ए्, for there will exist the intervention of this latent अ्, but by virtue of the special text of this sūtra, such an elided अ् should not be considered as an intervention. And if ण्, ए् and च् be all considered as qualifying the ह् of हन्, still on the maxim ये न नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनशामाण्यात्, therefore ण् or ए् are considered to come after ह् though a portion of the root intervenes. But not so here, हननमिच्छति हननीयति, add ष्वल् to this Denominative root, and we have हननायकः ॥

अभ्यासाच ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासात्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासादुच्चरस्य हन्तेर्हकारस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

55. A Guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् after a reduplication also.

As जिवांसति, जहृथन्ते, अहै जघान ॥ The rule applies when such an affix follows which causes the reduplication of the stem (aṅga) हन्, therefore not here हननीयतुमिच्छति = जिहननीयिषति ॥

हेरचडि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेः, अ, चडि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिन्तेर्हकारस्याभ्यासादुच्चरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति अचडि ॥

56. A guttural is substituted for the ह of हि (हिनोति) after a reduplication, but not in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As जिधीशति, प्र जेधीयते, प्रजिधाय; but प्राजीहयृ हृतम् in the simple Aorist. Obj. The word अचडि could be dispensed with from the sūtra, in as much as अहै can never come after the simple root हि, but after the causative of हि, and the causative stem of हि is a different verb than, हि. Ans. The fact of this word अचडि being employed in the sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim : प्रकृतिं महं ज्याधिकस्यापि महणम् “A radical denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, not only that radical itself, but it denotes also whatever stem may result from the addition to it of the causative affix ति” ॥ Therefore we have प्रजिधाया येषति ॥

The word प्राजीवित् is the Aorist of the causative of हि, with चह्न, the elision of र्जि, the shortening of the penultimate the reduplication, guttural change by कुहोऽच्चु, and lengthening by शीर्णेलधोः ॥

सन्मिलितोऽजः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्, लिटोः, जे:, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि लिटि च प्रत्यये जेरङ्गस्य योग्यासस्तस्मादुत्तरस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

57. A guttural is substituted for the ज् in जि after a reduplication before the Desiderative affix सन्, and in the Perfect.

As जिगीशति, जिगाय ॥ Why in the Desiderative and Perfect only? Observe ज्ञजीयते ॥ Though the root ज्या also assumes the form जि by vocalisation (VI. I. 16, 17) yet that जि is not to be taken here. That will form जिज्यतुः, जिज्युः ॥

विभाषा चेः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिनोतेरङ्गस्य सन्मिलितोरभ्यासादुत्तरस्य विभाषा कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

58. A guttural is optionally substituted for the च of चि after a reduplication in the Desiderative and Perfect.

As चिचापति or चिकीषति, चिचाय or चिकाय ॥ But चेचीयते in other cases,

न कादेः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कु, आदेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवर्गादिर्दातोश्चजोः कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

59. A guttural is not substituted for the final च् ज् of a root which begins with a guttural, before an affix having an indicatory घ and before प्यत् ॥

As कूजः, खर्जः and गर्जः with घम्; कुञ्जयः, खञ्जयः and गञ्जयः with प्यम् ॥ This is an exception to VII. 3. 52.

अजिव्रज्योश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अजि, व्रज्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजि व्रजि इलेतयोश्च कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

60. A guttural is not substituted for the final or ज् of अज् and व्रज् before an affix having an indicatory घ and before प्यत् ॥

This is an exception to VII. 3. 52. Thus समाजः, उशजः, परिश्राजः and परित्राज्यम् ॥ There is no example of अज् with the affix प्यत्, because by II. 4. 56, शी replaces अज् before all अर्धाधातुका affixes except घम् and अप् ॥ The च of the sūtra implies that the rule applies to other roots also not mentioned, as वाजः, वाज्यम् from वज् ॥

भुजन्युवज्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुज, न्युवज्जौ, पाणि, उपतापयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुज न्युवज् इलेतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते वथासंख्यम् पाणादुपतापे च ॥

61. भुज 'an arm', and न्युव्ज 'a kind of bodily disease', are irregularly formed, without any change of their ज before घञ् ॥

The word भुजः = भुज्यतेऽनेन, with घञ् (III. 3. 121). The irregularity consists in the absence of Guṇa, as well as of gutturalisation. न्युव्जताः शारतेऽसिन् = न्युव्जः from the root उङ्ज अर्जेत् (Tudādi 20). The irregularity consists in the non-changing of ज ॥ When not meaning 'an arm' and 'a disease', we have भोगः, समुद्रः ॥

प्रयाजानुयाजौ यशाङ्गे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयाज, अनुयाजौ, यश, अङ्गे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुल्पप्रतिषेधोऽनुवत्तेः ॥ प्रयाज अनुयाज इत्यौ निपात्यते यशाङ्गेऽभिषेदे ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य यज्ञर्थमि
कुत्वाभावो निपात्यते ॥

62. प्रयाज and अनुयाज are irregularly formed with घञ्, when meaning a portion of a sacrificial offering.

These words are derived from यज् with घञ् without the guttural substitution; as पञ्च प्रयाजाः, अयोद्युयाजाः, त्वमग्ने प्रयाजाना पश्चात् त्वं पुरुस्तात् ॥ But प्रयागः and अनुयागः when not referring to portions of a sacrifice. The प्रयाज and अनुयाज are illustrative only. The guttural change does not take place with other prepositions &c. also, as उपयाजः, उपांशुयाजः, संयाजः, अनुयाजः, as in the sentences एकाइशोपयाजाः, उपांशु वाजमन्तरा यजति, अटो पद्मी संयाजा भवन्ति, इन्द्रियाजै भरन्ति ॥

वञ्चेर्गतौ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चेः, गतौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चेरक्षस्य गतौ वर्तमानस्य कवर्गादेशो न भवति ॥

63. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal of वञ्चेः in the sense of 'going'.

As वञ्चर्य वञ्चन्ति वणिजः, but वाङ्मयं कोङ्क = कुटिलं ॥ Why is गतौ used, when we know from the Dhātupāṭha (Bhuadi 204) that वञ्चे means 'to go'? The specification shows that the roots possess many meanings other than those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha.

ओक उच्चः के ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओकः, उच्चः, के, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चेद्वातोः के प्रत्ययं ओक इति निपात्यते ॥

64. ओक is irregularly formed from the root उच्च with the affix क (अ) ॥

The change of च् into क, and the Guṇa are the irregularities. As न्योक्तः 'a bird, a tree'. The affix क is added under III. 1. 135. The क is added with the force of घञ् the Kāraka relation being that of Location &c. The घञ् affix would have given the form regularly, but then the word would have been acutely accented on the first syllable, but it is desired that the acute should be on the last. The words दिवौकसः, जनौकसः &c are also irregular,

formed with the *Uṇadi* affix अभुत् the क being substituted for च् as an *Uṇadi* diversity (*bahulam*).

एयावश्यके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एयः, आवश्यके, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्यकेऽर्थे यो एयप्रत्यस्तस्मिम् परमूते चजाः कुत्वं न भवति ॥

65. A guttural is not substituted for the palatal, before the affix एय, when it means 'to do as absolute necessity'.

As अवश्य पार्यम्, अवश्य याच्यम्, अवश्यरेच्यम्, but पाक्यं, वाक्यं and रेक्यं when the sense is not that of necessity.

यजयाचरुचप्रवचन्चश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज, याच, रुच, प्रवच, श्रुचः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यज याच रुच प्रवच इत्यतेर्षां एये परतः कवर्गादिशो न भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एयति प्रतिबोधे त्यज्ञरूपसंख्यानम् ॥

66. A guttural is not substituted for the final palatals of यज्, याच्, रुच्, प्रवच्, and श्रुच् before the affix एयत् ॥

As याज्यम्, याच्यम्, रोच्यम्, प्रवाच्यम्, and अर्च्यम् ॥ Though श्रुच् has a penultimate क्त and therefore by III. 1. 110 would have taken क्यष्, it takes एयत् by force of this sūtra. प्रवच् shows that the present sūtra applies to it, though it means 'a word or speech', and the prohibition of VII. 3. 67 does not apply. प्रवाच्य is the name of a particular book. Others say that the prohibition applies to वच् only when it is preceded by ए, and does not mean word or speech (VII. 3. 67) and not when it is preceded by any other preposition. As अविवाच्य-महात्मि पठन्ति ॥ This even in a very restricted sense, namely on the tenth day of the Daśarātra ceremony. In other places we have अविवाच्य ॥

Vṛत्—त्वज् should be enumerated in this connection i. e. before एयत्, the ज remains unaltered, as त्वाज्यम् ॥

वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, अ, शब्द, संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एयहति वर्तते वचांशब्दसंज्ञायां एयति परतः कवर्गो न भवति ॥

67. The guttural is not substituted for the final of वच् before एयत्, when it does not mean 'a word or speech'.

As वाच्यमाह, अवाच्यमाह, but अवशुषितं वाक्यमाह ॥

प्रयोज्यनियोज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयोज्य, नियोज्यौ, शक्य, अर्थे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य निपूर्वस्य च युजः मयोज्य नियोज्य इत्यतौ शब्दौ शक्यार्थे निपात्यते ॥

68. प्रयोज्य and नियोज्य preserve their palatal in the sense of 'capable to do this'.

As प्रयोज्यः = प्रयोक्तुशक्यः; नियोज्यः = नियोक्तुशक्यः, but प्रयोग्य and नियोग्य in other senses.

भोज्यं भक्ष्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोज्यम्, भक्ष्ये, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भोज्यं निपात्यते भक्ष्येभिर्ध्ये ॥ मुञ्जण्यति कुत्वाभावो निपात्यते शक्यार्थे ॥

69. भाज्य preserves its palatal in the sense of 'eatable'.

The word is derived from भुज् with प्रत् in the sense of 'able'. As भोज्य भोजनः 'eatable rice', भाज्या यवाग् 'eatable barley-gruel'. भक्ष्य here means anything which is fit for being eaten. When not having this sense, we have भोज्यः कम्बलः ॥

घोर्लोपो लेटि वा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, लोपः, लेटि, वा, ॥
इनिः ॥ शुंखकानां लेटि परतो वा लोपो भवति ॥

70. The final of वा and धा (शु roots) may optionally be elided in the Subjunctive (लेद्) ॥

As इधूरद्वा शशुषे Rig I. 35. 8. सामा इह गन्धवर्य Rig X. 85. 41. But also यज्ञिनरग्नये इवात् ॥ The form इवात्, however, may also be deduced even when the final of वा is elided, for then by the आट् augment (III. 4. 94) we get this form. The word वा is therefore employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra without वा would have also given the above forms, as we have shown. Or the वा is used to remove the doubt which one may entertain to this effect "इवात्" is the form which may be deduced by the general rule, since लोप is taught, this form will be excluded altogether and will never appear".

The form इवात् is thus evolved. We add तिप to the root वा; then the त् of तिः is elided (III. 4. 97). शशुषे = यज्ञमानाय रद्वानिद्वात् ॥ Others say, the इवात् is the form of the root with the शन् affix. इवात् is from the root शाश् ॥

Some say that वा is jnāpaka and indicates the existence of the following maxim :—अनित्यमागमशासनम् "the rule about augments is anitya". So that the augment आट् being anitya, we could not have got the form इवात् ॥ Hence the employment of the word वा ॥

ओतः इयनि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, इयनि, ॥

इनिः ॥ ओकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य इयनि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

71. A stem ending in ओ loses its final before the Present characteristic इयन् of the Divādi class.

As निश्चयति from शो, अवच्छयति from छो, अवव्यति from व्यो, अवस्थयति from स्थो ॥ The त् in ओत् is for the sake of euphony or ease of pronunciation.

According to Padamanjari, the sūtra should have been ओतः शास्ति, and thereby there would be the saving of half a mātrā, and also there would be no necessity of repeating the word शिति in VII. 3. 75.

कस्स्याच्चि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्स्य, अच्चि, ॥

इनिः ॥ कस्स्याजादै प्रत्येक लोपो भवति ॥

72. The अ of the Aorist characteristic कृत् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As अधुक्षाताम्, अधुक्षाथाम्, अधुक्षि from the root दुह् ॥ Had the अ not been elided before आताम् and आथाम्, then इय् must have been substituted for it according to VII. 2. 81. Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe अधुक्षत्, अधुक्षताम् ॥ Why do we say क्स and not only स? So that the elision should not take place here, as उत्सौ, उत्स्वा:, उत्सौ, उत्स्वाः, तृणसौ, तृणसः ॥

लुग्वा दुहृदिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, वा, दुहृ, दिह, लिह, गुहाम्, आत्मनेपदे, दन्त्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहृ विह युहृ इत्येतेषामात्मनेपदे दन्त्यां परतः क्रस्य वा लुग्भवति ॥

73. The whole of the affix क्स is elided optionally before the personal endings of the Atmanepada beginning with a dental, after दुहृ, दिहृ लिहृ and गुहृ ॥

As अदुग्ध or अधुक्षत, अदुग्धाः or अधुक्षथाः, अदुग्धम् or अधुक्षध्वम्, अदुग्धहि or अधुक्षावहि, अविग्ध or अधिक्षत, अलीड or अलिक्षत, न्यगुहृ or न्यापुक्षत ॥

Why दुहृ &c. only? Observe व्यत्यरुक्षत ॥ Why in the Atmanepada? Observe अधुक्षत only. Why before an affix beginning with a dental? Observe अधुक्षामहि only. Though the anuvṛitti of लोप was understood in this sūtra; the employment of the term लुक् indicates that the *whole* of the affix is to be elided. For लोप would have elided only the final अ of स ॥ But even with the elision of अ alone we would have got all the above forms, except those in वहि ॥ For अ being elided, we have स् between हृ (a consonant of मूल् class) and a dental (which is also a letter of मूल् class). This स् situate between two मूल् will be elided by VIII. 2. 26. Nor can it be objected that the elided अ is sthānivat, for by पूर्वचासिङ्ग VIII. 2. 1, such an elision cannot be sthānivat. Though हृ is a dento-labial, yet it is included in the word dental. Had it not been meant to be so included, सौ (letters of त् class) would have been taken in the sūtra. See III. 1. 45, for this Aorist-affix.

शमामष्टानां दीर्घिः इयनि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमाम्, अष्टानाम्, दीर्घिः, इयनि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शमार्वीनामष्टानां वीर्यो भवति इयनि परतः ॥

74. Before the Present character इयन्, a long is substituted for the root-vowel in शम् and the seven roots that follow it.

As शास्यति, शास्यति, शास्यति, शास्यति, शास्यति, शास्यति, शास्यति and मास्यति ॥ Why of these eight only? Observe अस्यति ॥ Why before इयन्? Observe भनति; the श्यन् being optional after this root by III. 1. 70.

षिवुक्लम्याचमां शिति ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षिवु, क्लम्, आचमाम्, शिति, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्ष इति वर्तते ॥ दिवु क्लम्, आचम् इत्येतेषां शीर्यो भवति शिति परतः ॥

75. Before any other Present character (शित), the root vowel of षिवु, क्लम्, and आ-चम् is lengthened.

As श्रीवति, क्लामति, and आ आमति ॥ क्लम् lengthens its vowel before श्वर् by the last rule, the present rule produces this change before the affix शप् also, which it gets by III. 1. 70. अम् lengthens its vowel only when it is preceded by आ; therefore not here: अमातं, विचमति or उचमति ॥ The sūtra is exhibited as इषुग्रुण्डु अमां शिति in the original text of Pāṇini; the present form, owes its existence to the insertion of आ from the vārtika शीर्षस्यमाडि अमः ॥

क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, परस्मैपदेषु, ॥

शृन्ति: ॥ शीर्ष इति वर्तते ॥ क्रमः परस्मैपदेष्वरे शिति परतो शीर्षो भवति ॥

76. The long is substituted in क्रम, before a शित् affix, in the Parasmaipada.

As क्रामति, क्रामतः, क्रामन्ति ॥ Why in the Parasmaipada? Observe आक्रमते आदितः ॥ How do you explain the lengthening in उक्ताम and संक्राम (Imperative 2nd Per. Sg.)? For when हि is elided by लुक्, (V1. 4. 105) then by I. 1. 63, the affix being dropped by a लु-elision, it would produce no effect and so there ought to have been no lengthening? This is no valid objection. The prohibition of I. 1. 63, applies to the अक्र stem after which the affix is elided. Here क्रम is not a stem or āṅga with regard to हि, but it is a *stem* with regard to शप्, as क्रम + शप् + हि ॥ Therefore, though हि is elided, the lengthening will take place by I. 1. 62, (प्रत्यय लक्षणम्) ॥

इषुग्रमियमां छः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इषु, ग्रमि, यमाम्, छः, ॥

शृन्ति: ॥ शितीति वर्तते ॥ इषु ग्रमि यम इत्येतां शिति प्रत्यये परतम्भकारादेषो भवति ॥

77. छः is substituted for the final of इषु, ग्रमि and यम before a Present-character (शित्) ॥

As इष्टुति, ग्रष्टुति, यच्छुति ॥ The इषु with the indicatory त is taken here, (Tud. 59), and not इषु of Divādi (19) class or of Kryādi class (53). There we have इष्ट्यति and इष्णाति respectively. Those who do not read the sūtra as इषु &c, but as इषुग्रमि &c, read the anuvṛitti of the word अच् from VII. 3. 72 into this sūtra; so that the शित् is qualified by the word अच्, i. e. a शित् affix which is merely a vowel, and has no consonant in it; (and not a शित् affix which begins with a vowel). Therefore though शानच् is a शित् affix beginning with a vowel, yet as it contains a consonant, the छ substitution does not take place, as इषाणः (III. 1. 83) The reading of the text according to Patanjali and Kātyayana is इषुग्रमियमां छ, and hence the necessity of the above explanation. The reading इषु, though convenient, is not ārsha.

पाद्राध्मास्थाज्ञादाण्हश्यर्तिसर्तिशदसदां पिबजिग्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यर्त्त्वौशी-यसोदाः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा, द्रा, ध्मा, स्था, ज्ञा, दाण्, हशि, अर्त्ति, सर्त्ति, शद, सदाम, पिब, जिग्र, धम, तिष्ठ, मन, यच्छ, पश्य, ऋच्छ, धौ, शीय, सीदाः ॥

शृतिः ॥ पा ध्रा ध्मा स्था स्ना दाण् हृषि अर्ति सर्वं शद् सद् इत्येतेषां पिब जिप्र धम तिष्ठ मन यच्छु पश्च
क्षुच्छु धौ-शीय सीद् इत्येते भवति शिति परतः ॥

78. Before a Present-character (**शित्**), the following substitutions take place :—पिब् for पा, जिप्र for ध्रा, धम for ध्मा, तिष्ठ for स्था, मन् for स्ना, यछु for दा (दाण्), पश्य for हृषि, क्षुच्छु for क्षु, धौ for सू, शीय for शद् and सीद् for सद् ॥

As पिबति, जिप्रति, धमति, तिष्ठति, मनति, यच्छति, पश्यति, धावति, शीयते and शीदति ॥ पिब् + सप् + तिष् required Guṇa of the इ of पि by VII. 3. 86, it however does not take place on the maxim अङ्गाधिकारे पुनर्वृत्तावाविधिः “when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra, has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place”. Or the substitute पिब् is one which ends with अ, and is acutely accented on the first. It must be acutely accented on the first; otherwise by VI. 1. 162, the acute will be on the last पिब् ॥ Then when there is ekādeśa with सप्, the acute will be on the middle in पिबति, which is not desired. धौ is substituted for सू when the sense is ‘to run, move quickly’; in any other sense, we have प्रसरति, अनुसरति ॥

शाजनोर्जा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, जनोः, जा, ॥

शृतिः ॥ शा जन इत्येतयोर्जादिशो भवति शिति परतः ॥

79. Before a **शित्** affix, जा is substituted for शा and जन् ॥

As जानाति and जायते ॥ The जन् here belongs to Divādi class, meaning ‘to be produced’, and not जन् of the Juhotyādi class. Why जा (long) and not ज, for this ज would assume the form जा by VII. 3. 101? This long भा of जा indicates the existence of the maxim given above in VII. 3. 78; and had ज been the substitute, VII. 3. 101, could not have lengthened it.

प्वादीनां हस्त्वः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ पू, आदीनाम्, हस्त्वः, ॥

शृतिः ॥ पू इत्येवमासांनां हस्त्वो भवति शिति परतः ॥

80. A short is substituted for पू &c, before a **शित्** affix.

The Pvādi roots form a subdivision of the Kryādi class, beginning with पूम् पवने (2) and ending with लृगतौ (32). The ल्वादि roots (VIII. 2. 44) are a portion of प्वादि (nos 13 to 32). Others hold that upto the end of the Kryādi class are Pvādi. Thus पुनाति, लृनाति, स्तृणाति ॥ Those who hold that Pvādi roots are upto the end of the Class, explain the non-shortening of जानाति (for शा would also then become Pvādi), by saying that the express

text of VII. 3. 79, substituting long आ prevents the shortening. They say had ज्ञा been also shortened, then merely ज् substitute would have been enough and not ज्ञा ; and this ज् would have been lengthened in the case of ज्ञ् by VII. 3. 101, to form जायते ॥

मीनातेनिगमे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनातेः, निगमे, ॥
शृतिः ॥ मीनातरङ्गस्य शिरि प्रत्यये परता इहस्वो भवति निगमविषय ॥

81. In the Veda मी is shortened before a शिर् affix.

As प्रमिनन्ति ब्रतानि Rig. X. 10. 5. The न becomes ण (प्रमिणन्ति according to Kāsika) by VIII. 4. 15. Why in the Veda? Observe प्र मीणाति ॥

मिदेर्गुणः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिदेः, गुणः, ॥
शृतिः ॥ मिदेरङ्गस्यको युणो भवति शिरि प्रत्यये परतः ॥

82. For ए in मिद्, there is substituted a guṇa before a शिर् affix.

As मेयति, मेयतौ, मेयन्ति ॥ Why मिद् only? Observe विद्यन्ति, क्लिद्यन्ति ॥ The root ज्ञिमिश belongs both to the Bhvādi and the Divādi classes. The Bhvādi मिद् will get guṇa before शष् by virtue of VII. 3. 86, but the Divādi मिद् would not have got guṇa before इयन्, as this affix is छिन् (I. 2. 4): hence the necessity of this sūtra. Before non इयन् affixes there is no guṇa, as विद्यते, मौर्यते ॥

ज्ञुसि च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञुसि, च, ॥
शृतिः ॥ ज्ञुसि च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य युणो भवति ॥

83. Before the personal-ending ज्ञस् (उस्) of the Imperfect, guṇa is substituted for the final ए, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, and औ, लू of the stem.

As अज्ञुहुः, अविभयुः, अविभहः, अजाशकः ॥ This Personal ending is छिन् according to I. 2. 4, and would not have caused guṇa (I. 1. 5), but for this sūtra. The ending ज्ञस् (III. 4. 108) comes in the लङ् also. There, however, it does not cause guṇa. As विद्युः, छुतुयुः ॥ Here there are two छिन् affixes, the augment यासुद्, and the sārvadhātuka ज्ञस् ; and the यासुद् prevents guṇa. The इक् is read into the sūtra from I. 1. 3.

सार्वधातुकाद्यधातुकयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुक, आद्यधातुकयोः, ॥
शृतिः ॥ सार्वधातुके आद्यधातुके च प्रत्यये परत इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य युणो भवति ॥

84. The Guṇa is substituted for the final इक् vowel of a stem before the affixes called sārvadhātuka and आर्दधाधातुका (III. 4. 113 &c).

As तरति, नयति, भवति ; कर्तु, खेत्र, स्तोत्र, ॥ Why sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes only ? Observe अग्निस्वम् अग्निकाम्यते ॥ For had the sūtra been सङ्गि then the rule would have applied to affixes like सन् काम्यच &c which go to form Denominative verbs. सह includes all affixes beginning with सन् and ending with महिङ् ॥ If the sūtra had been प्रत्यये, then the rule would have applied to the affixes like स्वम् &c. To exclude these cases, the two words sārvadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka are used. For exceptions See I. 1. 4, 5, 6.

जाग्रोऽविचिण्णलङ्घित्सु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जाग्रः, अ, विच्, चिण्, णल्, डित्सु ॥
दृनिः ॥ जागृ इत्यतस्याङ्गस्य युग्मो भवति अविचिण्णलङ्घित्सु परतः ॥

85. The Guṇa is substituted for the अ of the stem जागृ, except before the affix वि, before the Aorist-character चिण्, before the Personal ending, णल् of the Perfect, and before an affix with an indicatory इ ॥

As जागरत्यति, with णल्, जागरकः (with ष्वुल) साधुजागरी, जागरं आगरम् (with ज्ञमुल) जागरो वर्तते (with एस), जागरितः (with नक्), जागरितवान् (with नक्तु) ॥ This is an exception to the Vṛiddhi rule of VII. 2. 115, and to the prohibition in I. 1. 5. When this guṇa is substituted, there does not take effect that rule, which causes Vṛiddhi of the penultimate short अ of जागर; (अत उपधाया: VII. 2. 116). Had that been the case, then the guṇa substitution would become simply useless, and the prohibition with regard to चिण and णल superfluous. Why do we say not before वि, चिण् and णल् and डित्? Observe जागृवि: (with the affix विन् Uṇādi) अजागरि with चिण् which causes Vṛiddhi, and अजागर with णल्, and जागृतः and जागृथः with a डित् (I. 2. 4) affix. Some hold that the इ in वि is for the sake of pronunciation only, and the prohibition applies to all affixes beginning with a व, such as कस्यु, as जज्ञागृवान्, here there is no guṇa. In अजागरः with ज्ञस् the guṇa takes place by virtue of VII. 3. 83: for though it is a डित् affix also, the prohibition डित्सु of this sūtra does not affect it. Similarly अहं जज्ञागर with णल् the optional guṇa VII. 1. 91 is also not prohibited by the णल् of this sūtra. In fact the phrase अविचिण् णल् डित्सु is a Paryudāsa prohibition: for had it been a prasayya-pratishedha, then the guṇa before ज्ञस् and the 1st Pers. णल् would also have been prohibited. In short this sūtra positively ordains guṇa of जागृ before every affix, other than वि, चिण्, णल् and डित्, and if by any other rule these latter would cause guṇa, that guṇa is not prohibited. That is the result of Paryudāsa negation.

But if the sūtra be construed as a Prasayyapratischedha, then we shall apply the maxim अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा ॥ The prohibition is therefore stated with regard to जागृ in connection with the affixes वि, चिण्, णल् and डित् ॥ But the Guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 84, 83 is not prohibited.

पुगन्तलघूपदस्य च ॥ पद् ॥ पदानि ॥ पुक् अन्त, लघु उपदस्य, च, ॥
शृङ्खः ॥ पुगन्तस्याक्षरस्य लघूपदस्य च सार्वधातुकार्द्धधातुकयोर्युणो भवति ॥

Kārikā:—संयोगे शुसंज्ञायां गुणो भेत्तुर्न सिद्ध्यति ।
विध्येष्ठेऽलघूशासौ कथं कुण्डर्न दुष्यति ॥
धातोहितुम् कथं रज्जे, स्यविप्रथ्योनिपातनाम् ।
अनङ्गोपशिवीर्थत्वे विध्येष्ठे न सिद्ध्यतः ॥
अभ्यस्तस्य यदाहात्त्वे लङ्घै तत्कृते भवत् ।
कनुसनो यत्कृतं किर्त्ये ज्ञापकं स्याङ्गयोर्युणे ॥

86. *Guṇa* is substituted before a sārvadhātuka and an ārdhadhātuka affix, for the इक् vowels of the Causative stems which take the augment ए (VII. 3. 36), and for the short penultimate vowel of a root which ends in a single consonant.

As इलेपयति, हेपयति, क्रोपयति, भेदनम्, भेत्ता, छेत्ता ॥ Of course the vowel should be laghu or light, before the addition of the affix; the heaviness caused by the addition of the affix, will not prevent *guṇa*. Thus भिद्+ह्, though द्+ह्=त् causes the त् to become heavy, that will not prevent *guṇa*: for विध्येष्ठे लघु महणम् ॥ Obj: If this be so, why the forms कुण्डत्, हुण्डत् are not incorrect, for in them also the vowel is laghu (the roots are कुइ and हुइ), and the augment ए is added afterwards by a *Vidhi* rule? Ans. The augment ए is added to the root, and becomes upadeśivat. (See VII. 1. 58). Obj. If so, how do you cause *Vṛiddhi* in रज्ज, as in रागः with यज्; as रज्ज+यज्=रज्+यज् (the यज् being dropped by VI. 4. 27), for it is after the elision of यज्, that the ज् of रज् becomes penultimate and can admit of *Vṛiddhi* by VII. 2. 116? Ans. The exceptional forms स्यतः from स्यत्+यज्, and श्वयः from श्वय+यज्, taught in VI. 4. 28, 29 teach by implication that roots of this form take *Vṛiddhi* as a general rule. Obj. If the विध्येष्ठ maxim is not of universal application: though by VI. 4. 134, the ज् of अन् &c. is elided in *blia* stems, like राजन् thus राजा; yet the ज् shoud not be elided if you be consistent, in अनङ्ग augment added by VII. 1. 75 to इवि, अतिष्य &c. In fact, you could not get the forms इधा सक्षात् &c. Moreover though there can be the lengthening of the penultimate in सामन्—सामानि (before नि affix Nom. Pl), yet not in the case of कुण्डानि from कुण्ड for here न् is added by another rule VII. 1. 72. If you say, the maxim is not of universal application, then there can be no *guṇa* of त् in भिद् to form भेत्तु ॥ Ans. The *guṇa* takes place in forms like भेत्तु &c, because the prohibition of the following rule VII. 3. 87, with regard to the affixes beginning with a vowel, proves by implication that before affixes beginning with a consonant, as ह्, the *guṇa* also takes place. Obj. The prohibition in the case of vowel beginning affixes is for the sake of लङ्घ्, to form अनेनेक् ॥ This is derived from निजिर (Juhotyadi 11), in the Imperfect, as अ + निज् + यापश्लु + तिष् then reduplication (VI. 1. 10), then *guṇa* of the reduplica-

cate, (VII. 4. 75), then तिप which had become त् in the Imperfect, is elided by VI. 1. 68. Thus अनिज्ञ+श्लु+त्=अ+निज्ञ+त् (VI. 1. 10)=अ नेनिज्ञ+त् (VII. 4. 75)=अ नोनज्ञ (VI. 1. 98)=अननक्. The elided त् produces its effect, the guṇa by VII. 3. 86. This is why अश्व is taken in sūtra VII. 3. 87, namely अज्ञात् affixes do not cause guṇa, the हलाद् affixes like त् cause guṇa. You cannot therefore say that अञ्च in VII. 3. 87 is a jñāpaka. Ans. The sūtra चसितृष्णिष्ठिक्षेपः क्रुः (III. 2. 140) teaches the addition of क्रु to ऋस् &c, as शृण्वन्तुः; if this क्रु had not tended to cause the guṇa of the penultimate vowels of these roots, what was the necessity of making this affix a क्रित्? Similarly I. 2. 10 teaches that सन् (Desiderative) is क्रित् after roots ending in consonants. These rules show that words like भव &c get guṇa, and the final consonant of the root plus the initial consonant of the affix, does not make the root vowel heavy. Obj: The क्रित् of सन् is for the sake of the elision of the nasal, in धिःसति, धाप्सति (VI. 4. 24). Ans. Let it be so. still the क्रित् of क्रु is enough for us.

The "upadhā short" must be the vowels of the इक् pratyāhāra. Therefore in भिन्नस्ति, the penultimate is short अ (of अनन्त्) and it does not take guṇa. In fact, the word penultimate qualifies the word इक् understood. Others explain it by saying that पुगन्त् is to be analysed by पुकिअन्त् "in the vicinity of ए" ॥ The word अन्त् means समीप, and means the इक् vowel in the proximity of इक् ॥ The word लघूपदा should be analysed as लघी उपदा and is a Karmadhāraya compound, and means "a short or light penultimate". The word पुगन्तलघूपदा is a Samāhara Dvandva.

नाभ्यस्तस्याचि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अभ्यस्तस्य, अचि, पिति, सार्वधातु के ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तसंहकस्याङ्गस्य लघूपदस्याजावौ पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो न भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुतं छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The guṇa is not substituted for the penultimate light इक् vowel in the reduplicated form of a root, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory ए ॥

As नेनजानि, अनेनिज्ञः; परि वेविषाणि, पर्यवेदिषम् ॥ Why of a reduplicated root? Observe वेदानि ॥ Why beginning with a vowel? Observe नेनक्ति ॥ The word पित् is read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 3. 92. For here in cases other than पित्, guṇa will be prevented by क्रित् because of सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ Why a sārvadhātuka affix? Observe नेनज्ञ in the Perfect, the affixes of which are अर्धधातुका (III. 4. 115). Why do we say a penultimate light vowel? Observe ज्ञुहनानि, अज्ञुहनम् ॥

Vārti :— There is diversity in the Vedas. As ज्ञुजोषत् the लेद् of ज्ञुस् ॥

The forms पञ्चपाति, आकशीति, वावसीति: are irregular. स्पृश् + लेद् = स्पृश् + आद् + त् = स्पृश् + शपृश् + आते = पञ्चपाति ॥

The above forms are thus evolved. 1. ने निजानि is लोट् (Imperative 1st Per Sing), the नि is changed to नि, the augment आट् is added which is एष्ट् (आट्-समस्य पञ्च III. 4. 92), लु॒ is substituted for शप्, then there is reduplication, then गुण by VII. 4. 75. 2. अनानजन is लङ्, the नप् is changed to अप् ॥ 3. वशानि is 1st Pers. Sing. Imperative of वद् ॥ 4. ननाक्त् is 3rd Person singular of the Present. 5. ननज् is the Perfect with जल which is अर्धाद्वत्का III. 4. 115. 6. त्रुज्ञेष्ट् is the लट् of त्रुषी प्रातसवनयोः (Tudādi 8), in the Parasmaipada, the इ of तिप् is elided (III. 4. 97), then is added the augment अट् (III. 4. 94) then शप् is irregularly replaced by लु॒, then reduplication.

In the words पत्पशांते &c. the reduplicate has been shortened, as a Vedic form, in the Intensive यह् लुक् ॥ आकशीते is from काशृष्टासौ there is (यह् लुक्, लद्, तिष्, and इट् augment by यडा वा (VII. 3. 94). वावशीतीः is from वाशृष्टीसौ, in the Intensive (यह्लुक्), लद्, शत्, ढंप and शस् i. e. it is the Accusative plural of the Feminine Present Participle from the Intensive root of वाश् ॥ The reading in the Kāsikā is वावशांते ॥ In these two काश् and वाश् the roots have been shortened. Or the above forms may be derived regularly, without shortening, from the roots कश् and वश् ॥

**भूसुवोस्तिडि ॥ दद् ॥ पदानि ॥ भू, सुवोः, तिडि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भू सू इत्येत्योस्तिडि सार्वधातुके गुणो न भवति ॥**

88. भू and सू get no गुण before an immediately following Personal ending which is Sārvadhātuka.

As अभूत्, अभूः, अभूवम्, सुवै, सुवावै, सुवामै ॥ The सू refers to the Adādi root (21) in which the Present character is dropped, and does not refer to Divādi (24) or Tudādi (115) roots, because there the Present character अयन् and वा intervene between the Personal endings (तिड्) and the root: and moreover the affixes अयन् and वा are डित् (I. 2. 4) and would not cause गुण. Why do we say before तिड्? Observe भवति where the गुण takes place before शप् ॥ Why before a sārvadhātuka affix? Observe व्यति भविषीष्ट, where the Benedictive is not a Sārvadhātuka (III. 4. 116), and the augment is of course considered as a portion of the personal ending. Why the गुण is not prohibited in बोभृषीति when the Intensive यह् is dropped, and the Personal ending is added directly to the root. Because the form बोभृत् in VII. 4. 65 indicates by implication that गुण takes place in यह्लुक् except in बोभृत् ॥

But of सू we have सोखुर्वीति where गुण has been prohibited in the Intensive, because there is no jñāpaka with regard to it.

The forms सुवै &c are the 1st Per. Imperative of सू ॥

**उतो वृद्धिर्लुकि हलि ॥ द९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, वृद्धिः, लुकि, हलि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुके पितीवि वर्तते ॥ उकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य वृद्धिर्लुकि सति इलासौ पिति सार्वधातुके ॥**

89. A root ending in short उ, which has no Present

characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa is dropped by luk elision), gets vriddhi, before a पित् Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, but not if the stem is reduplicated.

Thus यौति, यौषि, यौमि ; नौति, नौषि, नौमि, स्तौति, स्तौषि, स्तौमि ॥ Why ending in त् ? Observe एति, एषि, एमि ॥ Why do we say whose विकारणा is elided by लुक ? Observe सुनोति, सुनोषि, सुनोमि ॥ Why beginning with a ह्ल् ? Observe श्वाणि, श्वाणि, the First Person of the Imperative is पित् by III. 4. 92, Why before a पित् affix ? Observe युतः, रुतः ॥ The augment यास्तु �being डित् (III. 4. 103), prevents पित् action in आपि स्तुयात् राजानम् ॥ The phrase नाभ्यस्तस्य should be read into the sūtra from VII. 3. 87: therefore Vriddhi does not take place here योयोति तीनोति ॥ Here there is luk-elision of श्वङ् ॥

ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्णोतेः, विभाषा ॥

मृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा वृद्धिर्वृत्ति हलशै पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

90. Before a पित् Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, the final त् of ऊर्णु gets optionally vriddhi.

As मोर्णोति or प्रोर्णोति, प्रोर्णोषि or प्रोर्णोमि, प्रोर्णोमि or मोर्णोमि ; but मोर्णवानि before an affix beginning with a vowel.

गुणोऽपृक्ते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अपृक्ते ॥

मृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा इति पिति सार्वधातुके गुणो भवति ॥

91. Before a पित् Sārvadhātuka affix which is a single consonant, Guna is substituted for the final of ऊर्णु ॥

As प्रोर्णोत्, प्रोर्णोः ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of शार्ल was understood in this sūtra from the last aphorism, the employment of the term अपृक्त् implies the existence of the following maxim :—अस्मिन् विधि स्तवादावलं प्रहणे “when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule, in the form of a Locative case, and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it”.

तृणह् इम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणहः, इम् ॥

मृत्तिः ॥ तृणह् इत्येतस्याकृत्य इमागमो भवति हलि पिति सार्वधातुके ॥

92. Before a पित् Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, इ is added after अ of the verbal stem तृणह् ॥

As तृणेद्, तृणेषि, तृणेष्वि, अतृणेद् ॥ In the last example though the affix vanishes altogether, yet it produces its effect. Why beginning with a consonant ? Observe तृणहानि ॥ Why a पित् affix ? Observe तृणः with तस् ॥ The stem तृणह् is formed from the root तृह् (Rudhādi) with the vikaraṇa भूम्, and is so exhibited in the sūtra in order to indicate that the augment इम् is added *after* the vikaraṇa भूम् has been added, and that the root तृह् of Tūdādi class is not to be taken.

The above forms are thus derived :—

तृह् + इनम् + तिष् = तृणह् + इम् + ति = तृणइह् + ति = हृणह् + ति (VI. 1. 87) = तृणेह्-ति (VIII. 2. 31) = तृणेह् + धि (VIII. 2. 40) = तृणेह् + दि (VIII. 4. 41) = तृणेदि with the elision of one व् (VIII. 3. 13). The form तृणेशि is similarly formed by VIII. 2. 41, the व् being changed to क before सि of सिष् ॥ अतृणेह् is the लङ् 2nd and 3rd Per. Sing.

ब्रुव ई॒ट् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, ई॒ट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु इत्येतस्मादुत्तरस्य हलाहिः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडाग्नो भवति ॥

93. Before a पित् Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, the augment ई॒ट् is placed after ब्र् ॥

As ब्रवीति, ब्रवीषि, ब्रवीत् ॥ But ब्रवाणि before such an affix beginning with a vowel, and ब्रूतः before an affix which is not पित् ॥

यज्ञो वा ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञः, वा, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञ उत्तरस्य हलाहिः पितः सार्वधातुकस्य ईडाग्नो भवति वा ॥

94. The पित् Sārvadhātuka affixes, beginning with a consonant, optionally get the augment ई॒ट् in the Intensive.

As लालपीति in शाकनिको लालपीति, so also दुन्दुभिर्वावीति, विधावद्वा वृषभो रोरवीति महावेदोमर्थां आविवेश ॥ (Rig. IV. 58. 3). Also not, as वर्षैति चक्रैति and वर्षैति ॥ These are all examples of the Intensive with the elision of वृह् ॥ When the stem retains वृह्, there can be no पित् Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant after it, because then शष् will intervene between the affix and the stem. Hence no examples of the same can be given.

तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, रु, स्तु, शमि, अमः, सार्वधातु के ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु इति सौचोदयं भ्रातुः, रु शब्दे दुभ् स्तुतो शम उपर्यामे अम गत्याविषु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य हलाहिर्वा ईडाग्नो भवति ।

95. A sārvadhātuka affix, beginning with a consonant, optionally gets ई॒ट् augment, after the roots तु, रु, स्तु, शम् and अम् ॥

The root तु (Adādi 25) means 'to increase', रु (Adādi 24) 'to make a sound', स्तु (Adādi 34) 'to praise', शम् 'to be satisfied', and अम् 'to go'. According to Kāśikā तु is a Sautra dhātu. Thus उत्तौति or उत्तीति, उपरौति or उपस्तौति, उपस्तौति or उपस्तवीति, शाम्यधवम् or शामीधवम्, अम्यमति or अम्यमीति ॥ शम् and अम् can then be followed by a consonant beginning sārvadhātuka affix, when they lose their Present character (vikaraṇa) as a Vedic anomaly (bahulam chhandasi).

The Apiśalās read the sūtra as तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुकासुच्छन्दसि ॥ This will then become a विधि rule for the Vedic forms. The word सार्वधातुका is here exhibited in the feminine.

The repetition of 'sārvadhātuka', though its anuvṛitti was present is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of पित्, and this rule applies to भाष्ट् affixes also, as सुवीत्, शमाधृम् ॥

अस्तिसिचोऽपृके ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्ति, सिचः, अ, पृके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेतरङ्गात् सिजन्ताथ परस्यापृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अहिभुवोरीटि प्रतिवेषः ॥

96. A single consonantal sārvadhātuka affix gets the augment ई इ, after अस् (अस्ति) and after the Aorist character सिच् ॥

As भासात्, भासीः; अकार्षीत्, असाक्षीत् ॥ Why do we say a single-consonant affix? Observe भास्त्, अकार्षम् ॥

Vart.—Prohibition of the sthānivad-bhāva must be stated when आह् is substituted for लृ (III. 4. 84), and भू for अस् (II. 4. 52), before the augment ई ॥ Therefore not here भात्य and अभूत् ॥ The word भात्य is thus formed. भाह्+सिप्=भाह्+थल् (III. 4. 84)=भाय्+य (VIII. 2. 35)=भात्+य (VIII. 4. 55)=भात्य ॥

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तिसिचोऽपृक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ईडागमो भवति बहुलं छन्दसि विषये ॥

97. In the Veda, a single consonantal Sārvadhātuka affix gets diversely the augment ई, after अस् and सिच् ॥

As आप् एवेदं सालं सवंमा: ॥ Here आः is used instead of आसीत्; but also अहंवासात् रात्रिः (See Maitr. S. I. 5. 12). So also with s-Aorist, as गाभिरक्षाः (Rig IX. 107. 9), प्रत्यञ्चमस्ताः (Rig X. 28. 4). And अ॒षीर्णु पुचक्, the अ॒ is not elided though मा is added (VI. 4. 75). अक्षाः and अस्ताः are examples of सिच् without ई. Compare VIII. 2. 73.

The word आः is the लह् of अस्, there is added क्षिप्, then शृण् is elided, then स् is changed to श्, and it is turned to visarjaniya. The words अक्षाः and अस्ताः are derived from the roots क्षर् (सवलेन) and ल्वर् (छमगतौ), in the Aorist, the सिप् is elided (VI. 1. 68), the सिच् is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the ई of the roots is changed to visarga. The augment ई is not added as a Vedic irregularity.

रुदश्च पञ्चभ्यः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुदः, च, पञ्चभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रुदादिभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य हलादेपृक्तस्य ईडागमो भवति ॥

98. After रुद् and the four roots that follow it, comes the augment ई to a sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant.

As अरोदात्, अरोदीः, अस्वपीत् and अस्वपीः, अवसीत्, अवसीः, प्राणीत्, प्राणीः, अजसीत्, अजसीः ॥ Why of these five only? Observe अजाग्र् भवाद् ॥ Why an apikta affix? Observe रुदिति ॥ The word रुदः is singular, though it ought to have been plural.

अङ्गार्यगालवयोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, गार्य, गालवयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुदाविष्यः पञ्चम्यः परस्य अपूक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याङ्गमो भवांत् गार्यगालवयोर्मतेन ॥

99. According to the opinion of Gārgya, and Gālāva, the augment अद् comes before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, after the above five roots रुद् &c.

As अरादत्, भरोदः, अस्वपत्, अस्वपः, अश्वसत्, अश्वसः, प्राणत्, प्राणः, अजसत्, अजसः ॥ The names of Gārgya and Gālava are mentioned for honoris causa.

The mention of these names is not for the sake of "option" (विकल्पार्थम्). Because the very injunction about अद्, would make the ईद् of the preceding sūtra optional. The mention of more than one Achārya in the sūtra is also for this very reason.

अदः सर्वेषाम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद भक्षणे अस्मादुत्तरस्यापूक्तस्य सार्वधातुकस्याङ्गमो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

100. After अद् 'to eat', comes the augment अद् before a Sārvadhātuka affix consisting of a single consonant, according to the opinion of all grammarians.

As आदत् and आदः ॥ Before a non-aprikta we have अति, अस्ति ॥ The word सर्वेषाम् makes it a necessary rule and not optional, like the last.

अतो दीर्घो यज्ञि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, दीर्घः, यज्ञि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य शीर्षो भवति यमादौ सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

101. The long आ is substituted for the final अ of a Tense-stem, before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with च or अ (lit.a consonant of यज्ञ pratyāhāra).

As पचामि, पचावः, पचामः, पक्ष्यामि, पक्ष्यावः, पक्ष्यामः ॥ Why 'for the अ only'? Observe चिनुवः, चिनुमः ॥ Why before a अ्य consonant (semivowels, nasals and श्व and भ) only? Observe पचतःः, पचयः ॥ Why a 'Sārvadhātuka'? Observe अङ्गना, केशवः ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of तिङ्ग into this sūtra, from VII. 3. 88 so that the lengthening takes place only before Personal-endings. According to them before कृष्ण there is no lengthening, as भववान् ॥

The word भववान् is thus formed. To भू is added कृष्ण, then comes शप्, treating kvasu as a sārvadhātuka under III. 4. 117; the reduplication of the root ending in शप् is prevented, because the word dhātu is used in VI. 1. 8 which ordains reduplication of a root only, and not of a root plus a vikaraṇa like the form भव (भू-शप्) ॥ Those who do not read the anuvṛitti of तिङ्ग in this sūtra, but only of the word सार्वधातुके, they explain the form भववान् as a Vedic anomaly.

सुष्ठुपि च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुष्ठुपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतो शीर्षो यमाद्यनुरूपते । सुष्ठुपि च यमादौ परतो अकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य शीर्षो भवति ॥

102. Before a case-ending beginning with य or भ (lit. a consonant of यज् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal-stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो दीर्घे यज्जि is understood here. Thus वृक्षाय, प्लक्षाय, वृक्षान्याम्, प्लक्षान्याम् ॥ But अग्निन्याम् where the stem ends in इ, and वृक्षस्य प्लक्षस्य where the affix does not begin with a यज् consonant.

वहुवचने इत्येत् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहुवचने, इति, एत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वहुवचने इत्यादौ सुपि परतो इकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. Before a case-ending beginning with भ or स् (lit. a इत् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षभः, प्लक्षेभः, वृक्षेषु, प्लक्षेषु ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe वृक्षान्याम् प्लक्षान्याम् ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a इत् consonant? Observe वृक्षान्याम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3). Why a case-affix? Observe यज्ञधवम्, पथधवम् ॥

ओसि च ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओसि परतो कारान्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारादेशो भवति ॥

104. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As वृक्षयोः (Gen. dual) स्वं, प्लक्षयोः स्वम्, वृक्षयोः (Loc. dual) as वृक्षयोर्निधेहि, प्लक्षयोर्निधेहि ॥

आङ्ग चापः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्गि, चेर्च, आपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिति पूर्वचार्यनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्णत । तस्मिन्नाङ्गि परतश्च कारादेशो ओसि च आवन्तस्याङ्ग-स्यैकारादेशो भवति ।

105. Before the case-endings ओस् and before आ of the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

आङ्गि is the name given to the affix आ, the Ins. Sg. by the ancient grammarians. As खट्या, माल्या, खट्योः, माल्योः, बहुराज्या, कारीष्यगन्ध्या, बहुराज्योः, कारीष्यगन्ध्योः ॥ Why the आ of the Feminine affix only? Observe कीलालपा ब्राह्मणेन कीलालपोः ब्राह्मणकुल्याः ॥ Where ever डी or भाएः is employed in Grammar, they mean the long forms ई and आ, and not when they are shortened, therefore, not here, भतिखट्येन ब्राह्मणकुलेन ॥

The word कीलालपा is derived from कीलालं विचाति with the affix विच् (III. 2. 74). In the Ins. Sing. the final आ is elided by VI. 4. 140. Had therefore, आ only been used in the sūtra, instead of आएः, there would have been ए substitution in the case of कीलालपा also; for the लिएः rule VI. 4. 140 would find its scope in कीलालपः पश्य &c, and would be debarred here by the present sūtra.

The maxim उपाद् महणेऽर्थिष्यमहणम् is necessary, because otherwise on the maxim of sthānivadvadhāva, the short substitutes of ढीं and आप् would also be included. In fact, in the sātra prohibiting sthānivad bhāva, we find this vārtika उपाद् महणेऽर्थिष्यः "A short (not long) substitute of ढीं and आप् is not sthānivat".

संबुद्धौ च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप इति वर्तते । संबुद्धौ च परत आवन्तस्याङ्गस्य एतच भवति ॥

106. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

As हे खेड़, हे बहुराजे, हे कारीषगन्धे ॥

अम्बार्थनयोहैस्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्बार्थ, नयोः, हस्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्तते । अम्बार्थनामङ्गलानां लक्ष्यो भवति, संबुद्धौ परतः ॥

वातिकम् ॥ उल्कवतीनां प्रतिशेषो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ छन्दासि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

गार्तिकम् ॥ तलो लक्ष्यो वा डिंसंबुद्धोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वातिकम् ॥ छन्दस्येव हस्व लक्ष्यमिष्यते ॥ मातृजां मातच् पुत्रार्थमहते ॥

107. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the Feminines called Nādi (L. 4. 3 &c).

As हे अम्ब ! हे अक ! हे अक्ष ! हे कुमारि ! हे शार्ङ्गदर्शि ! हे ब्रह्मवन्तु ! हे वीरवन्तु !

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the endearing terms denoting mother have an uncombined ब, ल or क्ष, as हे अम्बाड ! हे अम्बाल ! हे अम्बिक ! But हे अक and हे अक्ष where the ल and क्ष are conjunct.

Vart:—Optionally so in the Veda: as हे अम्बाड ! or हे अम्बाल ! हे अम्बाल ! or हे अम्बाले, हे अम्बिक ! हे अम्बिके ॥

Vart:—A feminine stem formed with the affix तल् optionally becomes short before the Loc. Sg. and Voc. Sg. As देवते भन्तः or देवतायां भन्तः, हे देवत ! or हे देवते ॥ This shortening takes place in the Veda only.

Vart:—In a Bahuvrīhi compound ending with मातृ, there is substituted मात for मातृ in the Voc. Sg. when the word means a son worthy of such a mother. As हे गांगामाते ! = मात्रां व्यवहारमहति इतार्थेनीयत्वाद् यः पुत्रः ॥ This debars the कृषि affix of V. 4. 153. The च् of मातच् makes the final acute.

हस्वस्य गुणः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्वस्य, गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबुद्धाविति वर्तते । हस्वोन्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति संबुद्धा परतः ॥

108. For short ई and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

As हे अम्बे, हे वायो, हे पटो ॥ But there is no guṇa in हे कुमारि, हे ब्रह्मवन्तु, because ई and उ were shortened specifically, and to substitute guṇa for them

would make their shortening a useless operation. Moreover, had guna been intended in the case of these nadi words, the sūtra would have been अभ्यार्थनांद्रस्तः, २ न दीश्वर्योर्गुणः ॥

जसि च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असि परतो इत्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणो भवति ॥

वाचिकेषु ॥ जसादिषु छन्दसि वाचचनं प्राक् गौ च इत्युपधाया हस्त इत्येतस्मात् ॥

109. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., Guna is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

As अग्नयः, वायवः, पटवः, धेनवः, कुद्यः ॥

Vṛtī :—All these rules upto the end of this chapter are of optional application in the Veda. As अम्बे or अम्ब, पूर्ण वर्षि or पूर्ण वर्षी, अधा शतकत्वः or शतकत्वः, पथ्ये भृत्यः or पश्ये भृत्यः, किकिर्षिव्या or किकिर्षिविना ॥

The forms वर्षि and वर्षी could have been regularly obtained by the optional use of डीष् (कृषिकारादक्षिणः) ॥ शतकत्वः is formed by adding अस् to शतकत्वु without guna of उ, and उ being changed to ई ॥ The rule of lengthening the prior vowel (VI. 1. 102) which would have otherwise come, in the absence of guna does not take place, as a Vedic option (VI. 1. 106). किकिर्षिव्या is the Instrumental singular, the ना of VII. 3. 120 does not come. The word किकिर्षिवि is formed by Uṇādi nipātan (कृषिष्विन्वि &c Uṇ IV. 56).

ऋतो डिसर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, डि, सर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गुण इति वर्तते इकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य डौ परतः सर्वनामस्थाने च गुणो भवति ॥

110. Gunā is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

As मातरि, पितरि, भ्रातरि, कर्तरि; माहरौ, पितरौ, भ्रातरौ, कर्तरौ, कर्तरः ॥ For the long in कर्तरौ and कर्तरः see VI. 4. 11. The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of utterance.

Because before डि and strong cases, it is impossible for a stem to end in a long vowel ऋ nor a dhātu noun can so come, since in that case, long ऋ would be changed to ई by VII. 1. 100, and in forms like कर्तृण there is त्रुम् ॥

घेर्डिति ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ घे:, डिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य डिति प्रत्यये परतो गुणो भवति ॥

111. For the ई and उ of the stems called घि (I.4.3.) Gunā is substituted in Dative, Ablative and Genitive Singular.

As अग्नये, वायवे, अग्नेः, वायोः, (VI. 1. 110). Why of घि stems ? Observe सख्ये, पत्ये ॥ Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. and Loc. only? Observe अग्निः-भ्याम् ॥ The word case ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट्टी, कुरुतः ॥

The word पट्टी is formed by adding डीष् to पट् (IV. 1. 44). डीष् is not a case-affix, though it is डित् and is added to पट् which is घि ॥ कुरुतः is no proper example: for though तस् which is added to कुरु, is डित्, it is only so by atideśa (सार्वभावुकमपित्), and moreover कुरु is not घि ॥

आण्नद्याः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्, नद्याः, ॥
दृचिः ॥ नद्यन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य डितः प्रत्ययस्याजागमो भवति ॥

112. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after the stem called Nadi (I. 4. 3. &c.).

As कुमारै, किशोरै, ब्रह्मवस्त्रै, धीरवस्त्रै, कुमाराः, किशोराः, ब्रह्मवस्त्राः, धीरवस्त्राः ॥
याडापः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ याद्, आपः, ॥
दृचिः ॥ भावन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य डितः प्रत्ययस्य याडागमो भवति ॥

113. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

As खट्टायै, बहुराजायै, कारीषगन्ध्यायै, खट्टायाः, बहुराजायाः, कारीषगन्ध्यायाः ॥ But in the compound अतिखट्ट (from खट्टामितिकान्तः), this rule does not apply, on the maxim छंशाह भग्नेऽशीर्षः as the आ has been shortened here. Even when the word अतिखट्ट assumes the form अतिखट्टा in the Dative by VII. 3. 102, the affix does not take the augment याद्, because this long आ is a lākṣaṇyākā आ only, while the आ of the sūtra is a pratipadokta (लक्षणपतिपदोन्नत्योः पतिपदैर्यतः) ॥

सर्वनामः स्याद्रस्वध्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामः, स्याद्, हस्वः च, ॥
दृचिः ॥ सर्वनाम भावन्तावङ्गादुत्तरस्य डितः प्रत्ययस्य स्याडागमो हस्वध्य भवति ॥

114. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै, विश्वस्यै, यस्यै, सस्यै, कस्यै, भवत्यै, सर्वस्याः, विश्वस्याः, यस्याः, सस्याः, अन्यस्यै अन्यस्याः ॥

But भासुख्ये where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine.

विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, द्वितीया, तृतीयाभ्याम्, ॥

दृचिः ॥ द्वितीया तृतीया इत्येताभ्यादुत्तरस्य डितः प्रत्ययस्य विभाषा स्याडागमो भवति ॥

115. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. and Gen. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः ॥

ॐराम्भास्त्रीभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊः, आम्, नदी, आप्, नीभ्यः, ॥
दृचिः ॥ नद्यन्तावङ्गाद्यात्मित्येतत्साक्षोन्तरस्य ओरामित्यवमादेशो भवति ॥

116. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem calle 1 Nadi (I. 4. 3. &c), after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

As कुमार्यम्, किशोर्यम्, गौर्यम्, ब्रह्मवन्ध्वाम्, धीरवन्ध्वाम्, खद्वायाम्, बहुरजायाम्, कारी-
षगन्ध्यायाम्, नी-मासप्रयाम्, सेनप्रयाम्।

The word आमणी is formed by किष् affix added under III. 2. 61, the न is changed to ष by अम् आमाभ्याम्; and the वृष् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

इदुद्धचाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, उद्धचाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोकाराया नवीसंज्ञकाभ्यामुन्नरस्य डेरामोदेशो भवति ॥

117. After the Feminine nadī words ending in ए and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As कृत्याम्, धेन्वाम् ॥ See I. 4. 6.

The word नवी is understood here also. Obj. If this be so, it is not a really separate sūtra, because it is included in the last, and these forms could be obtained by the last sūtra: so that we ought to make only one sūtra of 117 and 118, as इदुद्धभ्यामैत् ॥ Ans. We could not have done so, for then in the case of कृति and धेन्वु, the आम् would have come and not आ, in this way. The आम् would have found scope in nadī words like कुमार्यम्, the आम् would have undisputed scope in पत्यौ and सख्यौ; but in the case of कृति when getting the designation नवी the आम् would have come, being subsequently taught, and the form would have been कृत्यौ instead of कृत्याम् ॥

औत् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ औत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इदुद्धभाषुन्नरस्य डेरामोदेशो भवति ॥

118. After a stem ending in ए or उ short, and which is not a Nadī or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

As सख्यौ, पत्यौ ॥

In the case of नवी words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of वि words आम् preceded by अ substitution of वि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadī and ghi.

अव्ययः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, च, घेः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भौविति वर्तते पिसंज्ञकादुन्नरस्य डेराकारादेशो भवति तस्य च डेराकारादेशो भवति ॥

119. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short ए or उ, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

As अग्नौ, वायौ, कृतौ, धेनौ, पतौ ॥ The short आ is substituted, in order to prevent the टाए affix in the Feminine. Those who read 118 and 119 combined as औव्यय घेः translate it thus: "After every other stem ending in ए and उ (i.e. which is not a Nadī), आम् is substituted for the Locative Singular इ, whereby for the final of Ghi stems, अ is substituted". They do so on the analogy of the sūtra कर्तुः क्यवृ ललोपश्च (III 1. 11).

आङ्गो नाऽख्यियाम् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्गः, ना, अ ख्यियाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घेष्टरस्याङ्गो नाभावो भवति अख्यियाम् ॥

120. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

As अग्निना, वायुना, पद्मना ॥ Why do we not say भाङ्गो ना सुसि 'ना is substituted for आ in the Masculine'? Ans. In order to form the neuter Instrumentals also, as व्रष्णा, जतुना ॥ Obj. These can be formed by the augment तुम् under rule VII. 1. 73, and not by the ना of this sūtra. Ans. But भ्रष्णा will not be so formed as भ्रष्णा व्राक्षणकुले ॥ Because मु substituted for इस् of अवस् VIII. 2. 80 is considered as asiddha or non-existent (VIII.2.1) for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 73, and as अमु cannot take तुम्, it will take ना by this rule. Why do we say "not in the Feminine?" Observe कृत्या, घेन्वा ॥

अथ सप्तमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।



BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

जौ चद्युपधाया हस्वः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ जौ, चडि, उपधायाः, हस्वः, ॥
 वृचिः ॥ अक्षस्थेति वर्तते चद्युपेर जौ अद्युं तस्योपधाया इस्वो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ उपधाइस्वत्वे जौगिच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

1. A short is substituted for the vowel, standing in a penultimate position, in the Causative stem, when the affix चद्य (sign of the Reduplicate Aorist of the Causatives) follows.

As अचीकरत्, अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीपटत् ॥ Here the rules of reduplication and shortening of the penultimate both present themselves simultaneously. The rule about shortening, being subsequent in order, is applied first, and then the reduplication takes place. Thus कारि+अत्=कार्+अत् (जि being elided VI. 4. 51)=कर्+अत् (shortening VII. 4. 1)=चकर्+अत् (VI. 1. 11)=चिकर्+अत् (VII. 4. 93, 79)=चीकरत् (VII. 4. 94). The necessity of maintaining this order will appear from the following considerations. The Causative stem of अद् is आदि ; the Aorist of which is आदि + चद्य + त् = आद् + अत् (VI. 4. 51). Now if reduplication took place first we shall have आटिद् + अत् (I. 1. 59 the elided इ will be present for the purposes of reduplication) and as the penultimate is short already, the form will be आटिटत्, which with the augment अ will be अ + आटिटत् = आटिटत् ॥ This is a correct form, so far as it goes; but when the augment is elided in connection with the negative मा, the form will be मा भवान् आटिटत्, the correct form however is मा भवान् अटिटत् with a short अ, which can be formed if we shorten first and then reduplicate, as आद्+अत्=अद्+अत्=अटिद्+अत्=अटिटत्, which with the augment अ, will be आटिटत् ॥ In fact, though the reduplication of the second syllable (VI. 1. 2) is a *nitya* rule, because it applies even where a penultimate is shortened and where not, yet the rule about shortening takes effect first, because the author has himself indicated this, by making the root

ओण have an indicatory अ॒ in the Dhātupāṭha (See VII. 4. 2 about अ॒दित् verbs). For had the reduplication taken place first in the case of ओण (Bhu. 482), as ओणिण्, there would be no long vowel to be shortened, and there would be no necessity of the prohibition (VII. 4. 2).

Obj: Why do we say 'in the Causative'? The अ॒ Aorist is formed of Causatives only (See III. I. 48), the only exceptions being the simple roots शि, तु, द्वि, धेत् and श्वि, none of which have any vowel in the penultimate and कर् and तुप् have already short upadhā. The sūtra चहयुपधाया इत्थः would have been enough. Ans. Had the sūtra been, as proposed, then it would have meant, 'that which is penultimate when अ॒ follows, should be shortened'. Therefore in the Aorist of the Causative of लू, we have लू+णि+अ॒-॒-त्=लू+इ+अ॒ here the penultimate *with regard to अ॒* is इ, which would be shortened, debarring Vṛiddhi and आर् substitute, and there would have come the बव॒ substitute instead. But that is not the case. We have अलीलवत्, and not अलुलवत् || Similarly, in the Aorist of the Causative of वा, we shall have वा+इ+अ॒, and वा being shortened we have इ+इ+अ॒, so that we cannot add the augment पुक् (VII. 3. 36), and form अवीपत् || And the forms like अपीपचत् (पच्+इ-॒-अ॒) would not at all admit of shortening.

Why do we say when अ॒ follows? Observe कारवाति, हारवाति where there is no shortening in the Present Tense. Why do we say of the penultimate? Observe अथकाङ्कशत् from काङ्क्ष, and अवाभ्यत् from वाभ्य, where the penultimate being a consonant, there can be no shortening. Had the word penultimate been not used, the vowels of these would be shortened. And the word 'upadhā' is also absolutely necessary for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VII. 4. 4, and it prevents shortening in the above case, which would have otherwise taken place, on the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वर्णन प्रामाण्यात् which qualifies I. I. 67.

Vart—The rule of shortening of the penultimate applies to the अ॒ Aorist of the Causative of the Causative i. e. to the double Causative even. Thus अवीपत् (=वादितवत्तं प्रयोजितवान्) वीणं परिवाकेन || Otherwise वादि + इ+अ॒=वाद्+इ+अ॒=वाद्+०+अ॒ || Here the elided इ being sthanivat, will prevent shortening, or because the stem has lost a simple-vowel (अग्नोपित्र), it will not be shortened. The present vārtika makes it so however.

नाग्नोपित्रासवृदिताम् || २ || पदानि || न, अ॒, लोपि, शासु, अ॒दिताम् ||

वृत्तिः || अग्नोपित्रामङ्गाना शासेऽवृदितां च जौ अ॒युपधाया इत्यो न भवति ||

2. The shortening of the penultimate of the stem, before the causative affix, in the reduplicated-Aorist, does not take place, when it is a (Denominative) stem, which has lost

a simple (end vowel of the Nominal-stem), before the Causative sign and also not, when it is the verb शास्, or a root which has an indicatory अ॒ ॥

The word अग्लोपित् means literally a stem, in which a simple vowel (अक् pratyāhāra) or a portion containing an अक् vowel has been dropped. As the final vowels of Denominative stems are so elided before the Causative sign, the sūtra has been translated accordingly. Thus अमर्मोलित् = मालामार्मस्यत्; अम-भातरित् = मातरमार्मस्यत्, अरराजत् = राजानमतिकान्तवान्, अन्वलुलामत् = लोमान्यनुमृदवान् ॥ Where a simple अक् vowel alone is elided, as in the case of माला, there the elided आ being sthānivat, would prevent the shortening, the आ of मा not being then considered penultimate. So that अग्लोपित् could be spared from the sūtra, since the sthānivad-bhāva would prevent shortening. But where an अक् vowel plus a consonant is dropped, as in राजन् and लोमन्, there the sthānivad-bhāva does not apply (I. 1. 57), hence the necessity of employing the term अग्लोपित् in the sūtra. Similarly अशासत् with शास्; and अब्राहंत् from बाहृ, अव्याचत् from व्याच्, and अद्गौकत् from दीकृ ॥ See III. 1. 21 and 25.

भ्राजभासभाषदीपजीवमीलपीडामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्राज, भास, भाष, दीप, जीव, मील, पीडाम, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

यूचिः ॥ भ्राज भास भाष दीप जीव मील पीड इत्येतेषामङ्गानां गौ अद्युपधाया इस्वो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ काण्यादीतां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The shortening of the penultimate of the Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist, is optional in the following:—bhrāj, bhās, bhāṣ, dīp, jīv, mīl and pīḍ.

As अविभजेत् or अवभ्राजत्, अवीभेसत् or अवभोसत्, अवीभषत् or अवभोस्यत्, अवी-रिपत् or अविरिपत्, अजीजिवत् or अजिजीवत्, अमीमिलत् or अमिमीलत्, अपीपिडत् or अपिपीडत् ॥ The Dhātupāṭha reads भ्राज् (Bhu. 194) and भास् (Bh. 655). The indicatory अ॒ is unnecessary and not countenanced by Pāṇini, as shown in this sūtra. Had they been अ॒वित्, they would have been governed by the last aphorism.

Vart:—The words काणि, वाणि, राणि, हेडि, लोपि should be enumerated: as अचकाणत् or अचीकणत्, अरराणत् or अरीरणत्, अशाश्राणत् or अशीश्रणत्, अवभाणत् or अवीभणत्, अजीहिडत्, अजिहेडत्, अलुलोपत् or अलूलूपत् ॥

लोपः पिवतेरीचाभ्यासस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, पिवते:, ईत्, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥ यूचिः ॥ पिवतेद्युस्य गौ अद्युपधाया लोपो भवति अभ्यासस्येकारावेशी भवति ॥

4. The penultimate vowel, in the Causative stem of पा 'to drink' is elided in the Aorist, and for the vowel of the Reduplicate there is substituted long ई ॥

As पा + णि + अत् = पाण् + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 37) = पाण् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = पण् + अत् (VII. 4. 8) = पण् + अत् (I. 1. 59) = पीव्यत् (VII. 4. 4). Thus अपीव्यत्, अपीव्यताम्, अपीव्यत् ॥ When the penultimate आ is elided, there remains प् which cannot be reduplicated as having no vowel, but the elided आ is considered as sthānivat and thus पा is reduplicated. Sūtra VII. 4. 80 establishes by implication the principle that the substitutes caused by णि are sthānivat. Thus भू + णि = भावि; in reduplicating, this आ will not be reduplicated, but भू, as भुभावि, भू = भू by sthānivad-bhāva.

तिष्ठतेरित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठते:, इत् ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेरक्षस्य जौ चड्हयुपधाया इकारादेशो भवति ॥

5. Short इ is substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of स्था in the Aorist.

Thus अतिष्ठिपत्, अतिष्ठिपताम्, and अतिष्ठिपत् ॥ The form is thus evolved. स्था + णिष्ठ + अत् = स्थाष्ठ + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = स्थाष्ठ + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = विष्ठ + अत् (VII. 4. 5) = तिष्ठिपत् ॥

जिघ्रतेर्वा ॥ इ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिघ्रते:, वा ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ जिघ्रतेरक्षस्य जौ चड्हयुपधाया इकारादेशो वा भवति ॥

6. Short इ is optionally substituted for the penultimate vowel of the Causative stem of वा in the Aorist.

As अजिग्रिपत् or अजिग्रपत्, अजिग्रिपताम् or अजिग्रपताम्, अजिग्रिपत् or अजिग्रपत् ॥ Thus वा + णि + अत् = वाष्ठ + इ + अत् (VII. 3. 36) = विष्ठ + इ + अत् (VII. 4. 6) = विष्ठ + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = जिघ्रिपत् ॥ When इ is not substituted, आ is shortened by VII. 4. 1.

उअङ्कुत् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उ:, अङ्कुत् ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ जौ चड्हयुपधाया अवर्णस्य स्थाने वा इकारादेशो भवति ॥

7. Short अङ्कु is optionally substituted for the penultimate अङ्कु and अङ्कु of a Causative stem, in the reduplicated Aorist.

This debars the इ (VII. 3. 101), अर् (VII. 3. 86), and आर् (VII. 2. 114) substitutes. Thus अचिकीर्तत् (VII. 1. 101) or अचिकिर्तत् from कृत् (Chur 111): अवर्णत् (VII. 3. 86), or अशीवृत्; अममार्जत् (VII. 2. 114) or अमीशृजत् ॥ Though the इ, अर् and आर् substitutes are antaranga operations, they are prohibited by the express text of this sūtra. The short अङ्कु is substituted even for a long अङ्कु: the त् of अङ्कु shows that, as in अशीकृत् (VIII. 2. 77). In fact, this अङ्कु substitute does not take place after the operations of इ, आर् and अर् substitutions have taken effect, but it is a form which suspends the operation of all those rules.

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, छन्दसि ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ उन्दसि विषये जौ चड्हयुपधाया अवर्णस्य स्थाने इकारादेशो भवति नित्यम् ॥

8. Short अ॒ is invariably substituted in the Veda, for the penultimate अ॑ or अ॒ of a Causative stem, in the Reduplicated Aorist.

As अवीवृथत्, अवीवृथताम् and अवीवृथन् ॥

दयतेर्दिगि लिटि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दयते; दिगि, लिटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दयतेरकृस्य लिटि परतो विशिलयमादेशो भवति ॥

9. दिगि is substituted for दे (दयते), in the Perfect.

As अव दिये, अव विग्याते, अव विग्यित् ॥ The root देङ् 'to protect' (Bhu. 1011) is to be taken, and not दय 'to give' (Bhu. 510), for that root forms its Perfect by आम् (Periphrastic Perfect) as taught in III. 1. 37. The substitute विगि debars reduplication.

अहुतश्च संयोगादेर्गुणः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ॒तः, च, संयोग-आदेः, गुणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारारन्तस्याकृस्य संयोगादेर्गुणो भवति लिटि परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संयोगादेर्गुणविधाने संयोगोपधमहणं कृभर्यं कर्तव्यम् ॥

10. A root ending in short अ॒, and preceded by a conjunct consonant, gets Guṇa in the Perfect.

As सस्वर्तुः, सस्वः from स्व, इस्वर्तुः, इस्वः from ई, सस्मर्तुः, सस्मः from स्म ॥ Why do we say ending in अ॒? Observe चिकित्तुः, चिकिंशुः ॥ Why do we say beginning with a conjunct consonant? Observe चक्तुः, चक्तुः ॥ This sūtra ordains Guṇa where there was prohibition by I. 2. 5 read with I. 1. 5. But this does not debar the Vṛiddhi caused by णङ् (VII. 1. 115). In fact, that prior rule supersedes this posterior rule, as सस्वार, इस्वार, सस्मार ॥ The word लिटि is to be supplied in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to Nishṭhā &c., as सृष्टः, सृष्टवान् ॥

Vārtika:—For the sake of कृभ्र, the guṇa should be stated even where the double-consonant is in the penultimate position and not in the beginning. As संचक्तुः, संचक्तः ॥ See VI. 1. 135. On the maxim पूर्वं धातुः साधेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण 'a root is first developed fully and then the preposition is added to it'; we first develop कृ in the Perfect by reduplication, which gives us चक्तुः+अतुः, then we add the preposition as संचक्तुः+अतुः; then we add सुह though the reduplicate intervenes, by VI. 1. 136 and 137, as संचक्तुः-अतुः; now the root assumes a form in which the penultimate begins with a double consonant, and applying the vārtika we make guṇa, and get संचक्तुः ॥

It is by this consideration that in संस्कृष्टीष्ट, उपस्कृष्टीष्ट, the सुह augment being Bahiranga and consequently considered as non-existent (asiddha), there is no इद् augment added by VII. 2. 43.

अ॒च्छत्यृताम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ॒च्छति, अ॒, अ॒ताम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अ॒च्छतेरकृस्य अ॒त्येतस्य अ॒कारान्तानां च लिटि परतो गुणो भवति ॥

11. There is guna in the Perfect of अृच्छ, त्रह and roots ending in long श्व.

As आनर्ध्ण, आनर्ध्णतुः, आनर्ध्णः from अृच्छ, आर, आरतुः; आरः from अृ, and नि अकरतुः, नि अक्रः; नि जगतुः, नि जगः from कृ and गृ ॥ अृच्छ not having a light vowel in the penultimate, would not have received guna by VII. 3. 86, this sūtra ordains it; roots in long श्व never received guna, but इ॒ substitution; this ordains guna. The Vṛiddhi of VII. 2. 115 supersedes this rule, within its own jurisdiction, a prior superseding the posterior: as निष्पकार, नि जगार ॥

शृद्यप्रां हस्यो वा ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्, द्, प्राम्, हस्यः, वा, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श् द् पृ हत्येतेषामङ्गानां लिटि परतो वा हस्यो भवति ॥

12. In श्, 'to injure' (IX. 18) द् 'to tear' (IX. 23) and पृ to protect' (IX. 19) the vowel may optionally be shortened in the Perfect.

As वि शश्वतुः by shortening or वि शशरतुः, by guna, which prevents ए and abhyāsalopa (VI. 4. 126) वि शशुः or विशशरः; विशश्रतुः or विशश्रः; विशश्रतुः; विशश्रः; or नि पश्चरतुः, नि पश्चः or नि पश्चः ॥ Why is the word 'short' made optional in the sūtra, and not the word 'guna'; for in the absence of guna, the long श्व would have become ए before अतुः by व्याख्येषः; and we would have got the forms विशश्रतुः, विशश्रः by the regular rules of 'sandhi'? The word 'short' is used in the sūtra, in order to debar the इ॒ and उ॒ alternatives. Had the sūtra been "श् द् पृ वा" the alternative examples would have been with इ॒ (VII. 1. 101) as विशश्रतुः; विशश्रः; and द् (VIII. 2. 77) as विश्चरतुः ॥ Some say this sūtra is unnecessary. The above forms like वि शश्वतुः, विशश्रः, &c. can be regularly obtained from the roots शा 'to cook', द्रा 'to abuse', and प्रा 'to fill' and as the roots have many other senses, besides those assigned to them in the Dhātupāṭha, the roots शा, द्रा and प्रा will give the meanings of श्, द्, and पृ" ॥ If that were so, the form विशश्रवान् with the affix श्वत् could not be formed, for we should have either विशश्रवान् from श् root or विशश्रिवान् from शा root but never विशश्रवान् ॥ So the rule about shortening is necessary.

केऽणः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, अणः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ के प्रत्यये परतो ऽनो हस्यो भवति ॥

13. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

As शका, (VII. 3. 47) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, विद्युवन्धुका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only? Observe गोका, नौका ॥ The words शका, धाका are irregular being formed by Uṇādi diversity. with the affix क added to शा and धा (Uṇ III. 40) By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कृ; it therefore implies that कृ is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the kṣit क of the

Uṇādi, as राका, धाका; but Uṇādi words are not derivatives (उणाद्योऽष्टयुत्पन्नानि प्रातिष्ठिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

न कपि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपि प्रत्यये परतो इपो इस्तो न भवति ॥

14. But before the samāsanta affix कपि coming after Bahuvrīhi compounds, the अ॒ व् vowels are not shortened.

As बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृश्लीकः, बहुवधूकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 even does not operate when कपि follows.

For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 48), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48: namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुवशागूकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कपि affix. Because the affix कपि will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कपि will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *pratipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I. 2. 48, does not apply, because the *pratipadika* now left is one ending in the affix कपि and not in a feminine affix.

आपोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवत्तरस्याम् इपि इस्तो न भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

15. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कपि ॥

As बहुखद्वाकः or बहुखद्वाकः, बहुमालकः or बहुमालकः ॥

ऋद्धशो ऋडि गुणः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्ध, दशः, अडिः, गुणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णान्तानां दशः अडिः परतो गुणो भवति ॥

16. *Guṇa* is substituted for the vowel of the root, before the affix अ॒ र्, in the roots ending in ऋद्ध or ऋट्, as well as in दशः ॥

As शकलाइयुष्टकोऽकरत्, अहंतेयोऽकरं नमः, असरत्, आरत्, अदर्शत्, अदर्शताम्, अदर्शन् ॥ The affix अ॒ र् means the Aorist-character अ॒ र् of which the above examples are given. It also is the kṛit-affix (III. 3. 104), of which we have जृ—जरा ॥

The word अकरत् is अ॒ र् Aorist formed from कर् by III. 1. 59. The word असरत् is from स् (III. 1. 56). अदर्शत् by VI. 1. 57.

अस्यतेस्थुक् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यतेः, थुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्यतेस्थुस्य थुगागमो भवत्यडिः परतः ॥

17. The stem अस् (अस्यते) gets the augment थुक् before this Aorist अङ् ॥

As आस्थत्, आस्थतास्, आस्थन् ॥ See III. I. 52.

श्वयतेरः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वयतेः, अः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयतेरङ्गस्याकारादेशो भवत्यडिं परतः ॥

18. The अ is substituted for the final off-shoot in the अङ् Aorist.

As अश्वत्, अश्वतास्, अश्वन् ॥ For the अ of the stem and the अ of the affix, there is the single substitute of the last by VI. 2. 97. See III. I. 58.

पतः पुम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतः, पुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतेरङ्गस्य पुमागमो भवत्यडिं परतः ॥

19. The augment प् is added after the vowel of the root पत् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अपस्त्, अपस्ताप्, अपस्त् ॥ The पत् takes the अङ् Aorist as it has an indicatory अ in the Dhātupāṭha (III. I. 55).

वचउम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वचः, उम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वचेरङ्गस्य अडिं परत उमागमो भवति ॥

20. The augment उ is added after the अ of वज् in the अङ्-Aorist.

As अवोचत्, अवोचतास्, अवोचन् ॥ See III. I. 52.

शीडः सार्वधातुके गुणः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीडः, सार्वधातुके, गुणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीडोङ्गस्य सार्वधातुके परतो गुणो भवति ॥

21. For the vowel of शी, there is substituted gupa, when a Sārvadhātuka affix follows.

As शेते, शाश्वते, शरते, but शिश्ये before the ārdhadhātuka affix (III. 4. 115). Though these sārvadhātuka affixes were डिन् (I. 2. 4) and would not have caused gupa (I. 4. 5), they do so by virtue of the present sūtra. The word शीङ् is read in the sūtra with the anubardha ङ्, in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to अङ् लुक् as शेशीतः, शेश्यति ॥

अयङ् शि कङ्गिति ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयङ्, शि, कङ्गिति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ कङ्गिति प्रत्येकं परतः शीडोङ्गस्यायडित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

22. Before an affix beginning with श and having an indicatory क् or ङ्, there is substituted अ॒य् for the ई of शी ॥

As शश्यते with यक्, शाश्वयते with यङ्, प्रश्वय and उपश्वय with श्व॒प् which being the substitute of क्षत्वा is कित् ॥ But शिश्ये where the affix is ए, and शेशम् where the affix is यत् (neither कित् or डित्) ॥

उपसर्गाङ्गस्व ऊहतेः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप सर्गात्, हस्वः, ऊहतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादुन्नरस्य कहतेरङ्गस्य इस्वो भवति यकारासौ कङ्गिति ॥

23. The short is substituted for the ऊ of कह when a Preposition precedes it, and an affix beginning with य् with an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

As सम्मुद्देते, प्रस्तुद्देते, सम्मुद्देते, अभ्युद्देते, अभ्युद्देते ॥ But कहते without Preposition. Why do we say of कह? Observe समीद्देते ॥ Why do we say 'before य्'? Observe सम्मूहितम् ॥ Why do we say having indicatory क् or ङ्? Observe अभ्युद्देता: with यत् ॥ Of course the shortening takes place of क् (or अण् vowel, the word अण् being understood here from VII. 4. 13), and not when it assumes the form ओ, as आ कहते = ओहते, समोहते ॥

एतेलिङ्गि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एते:, लिङ्गि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेरङ्गस्योपसर्गादुन्नरस्य लिङ्गि यकारासौ कङ्गिति परतो इस्वो भवति ॥

24. The short is substituted for the vowel of the stem इ (एति) before the augment यास् in the Benedictive, when a Preposition precedes it.

As उदियात्, समियात्, अन्वियात् ॥ This is an exception to the following sūtra by which a long would have been substituted. But इयात् without a Preposition. The अण् (VII. 4. 13) is understood here also. Therefore ए form of इ will not be shortened, as आ-इयात् = एयात्, समेयात् ॥

अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घ्यः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकृत्, सार्वधातुकयोः, दीर्घः: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकृष्यकारे असार्वधातुकयकारे च कङ्गिति परतोजन्तस्याङ्गस्य वीर्णो भवति ॥

25. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before an affix beginning with a य having an indicatory क् or ङ्, when it is not either a Kṛit or a Sārvadhātuka affix.

Thus धृशायते, मुखायते, and दुःखायते with the Denominative affix क्यङ् according to III. 1. 12 and 18. चीयते and स्त्रूयते with the Passive यक्, चेचीयते and तोदूयते with the Intensive यङ्, and चीयात् and स्त्रूयात् in the Benedictive (See III. 4. 116). But प्रकृत्य and प्रहृत्य where the affix ल्प्यएs kṛit, and had the vowel been lengthened by this subsequent rule, the antecedent तुक् augment would have been debarred (VI. 1. 71). And चिनुयात् and मुनुयात् where the Personal endings of the Potential are sārvadhātuka. The phrase कङ्गिति is understood in this sūtra, so there is no lengthening before non-kṛit and non-nit affixes, as उरुया, धृणुया, formed by या under VII. 1. 39.

चौ॒ च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ॒, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्गत्ये परतोजन्तस्याङ्गस्य वीर्णो भवति ॥

26. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

As शुची करोति, शुची स्त्रात्, शुची भवति, पटू करोति, पटू स्वात्, पटू भवति ॥ The च draws in the anuvṛtti of the phrase 'non-krit, and non-sārvadhātuka' from the last sūtra, which though not of any direct use in this aphorism, is necessary for the sake of subsequent ones. See VII. 4. 32 for words ending in अ ॥

रीङ्क्रुतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ रीङ्, ऋतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूचीविति वर्तते ॥ अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोरिति च ॥ चक्कारान्तस्याङ्गस्य अकृधकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे श्ली च परतो रिङ्गित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

27. री is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with च, when it is not a Krit nor a Sārvadhātuka affix, and before the adverbial affix चित् ॥

The anuvṛtti of किञ्चति is, however, not understood in this sūtra; that of चूची and अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोः is present. Thus मात्रीयति and पित्रीयति with क्यच (III. 1. 8), मात्रीयते, पित्रीयते with क्यङ् (III. 1. 11), चैकीयते with यङ्, मात्रीभूतः with चित् ॥ The कित् and डित् not being understood here, we have पितुरागतं = पितुराग् (IV. 3. 79), which is thus formed पितृ-१-यत् = पित्री + य = पित्र-१-य (ई being elided by VI. 4. 148). Why do we say short ऋ? Observe चैकीयते, from कृ विक्षेपे, with यङ्, घटतङ् थातोः and इलिच lengthening. निजेगित्यते from कृ and शृ ॥

रिङ् शयग्नलिङ्क्षु ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिङ्, श, यह, लिङ्क्षु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकृत्सार्वधातुके यकृ इत्येत्यार्लिङ्क्षु च यकाराशी असार्वधातुके परतो रिङ्गित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

28. For the final short ऋ of a root, there is substituted रि, before the Present-character अ (श), before the Passive-character य, and before the augment यास् in the Benedictive.

The word लिङ्क्षु in the aphorism is qualified by the phrase यकाराशी असार्वधातुके ॥ A Lin affix which begins with a य and is not a Sārvadhātuka, is necessarily the augment यास् of the Benedictive. Thus श—आ द्वियते and जा द्वियते (the य comes by VI. 4. 77). यकृ—कियते, हियते ॥ लिङ्क्षु—कियात् and हियात् ॥ This short रि debars the long रि of the last. The word non-Sārvadhātuka being understood, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as विश्वात् ॥ The चित् (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also, therefore when the Benedictive affix does not begin with य, the rule does not apply, as कृषीट, हृषीट ॥

गुणोर्त्तिसंयोगाद्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, अर्त्तिः, संयोगाद्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्तो यकि लिङ्क्षु इति वर्तते ॥ शाइत्यब्रांसभवान्नातुवर्तते ॥ गुण भवत्यर्त्तेः संयोगाशीनाश्चकारान्तानां यकि परतो, लिङ्क्षु च यकाराशासार्वधातुके ॥

29. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ in the root ऋ (अर्त्ति), and in those roots ending in ऋ, in which

the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Passive character यक् or the Benedictive augment यास् follows.

The words नक्तः, यकि and लिङ्गि are understood here. Not so the word श as its anuvṛitti is impossible. Thus अर्यते, अर्यात्, सर्वते and स्मर्यात् ॥ This is an exception to I. i. 5. In संस्कृते and संस्क्रिता॑ (VI. i. 135), there is no Guṇa, either because in स्कृ the augment स् is considered as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, or because it is considered as no part of (or non-attached to) कृ, and therefore स् कृ is not a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See however VII. 4. 10, where in forming संचक्षकरतुः, स्कृ is considered as a root beginning with a conjunct consonant. See also Mahābhāṣya on VI. i. 135. The यि (VII. 4. 22) is understood here also; the Benedictive affix must begin with य, therefore not here स्वृषीष्ट, ध्वृषीष्ट ॥ The word non-sarvadhātuka is also understood here, the rule does not apply to the Potential, as इव्यात्, there is शु substitution of शप, reduplication, then there is इ substitution in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 77, then इवङ् by VI. 4. 78.

यडि च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यडि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यडि च परतो अर्तेः संयोगादिश्च नक्तो गुणो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न न्द्राः संयोगादय हति हिर्वचनप्रतिषेधो यकारपरस्य नेष्यते ॥
था० ॥ हन्तेहिंसायां यडि ज्ञीभावे वक्तव्यः ॥

30. Guṇa is substituted for the final ङ् of the root अहु (अर्ति) and in those roots, ending in short ङ्, in which the vowel is preceded by a conjunct consonant, when the Intensive character यङ् follows.

As अर्यते, सास्तर्यते, वाध्वर्यते, सास्तर्यते ॥ The root अहु takes यङ् according to a Vārtika under Sūtra III. i. 22, with Guṇa we have अ-य-अर्य ॥ By VI. i. 2, the second member is reduplicated, in spite of the prohibition in VI. i. 3, for according to Patanjali इ followed by य is not governed by that prohibition. So we have अर्यर्य, and according to VII. 4. 60, the य is dropped, and we have अरर्य, and by VII. 4. 83, we get अरर्य ॥ This is an exception to I. i. 5.

Vārti :—In the Intensive of हन् 'to kill', एन्ति is substituted for हन् as जेन्नीयते ॥ The substitute is with a long ई, had it been with a short ई, that might also have been lengthened by VII. 4. 25. Not doing so, however, indicates the existence of the maxim संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वम् "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term". It is through this that स्वायंभुवः is formed from स्वंयम्; because the Guṇa taught by VI. 4. 146, does not take place here before the Taddhita affix अण्, in as much as that rule VI. 4. 146, is taught by employing the technical term एणः in ओरुणः instead of ओरोत्, hence that rule is anitya, and we have उवङ् ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'to kill'? Observe अह्यन्ते where it means to do.

ई ग्राध्मोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, ग्रा, ध्मोः, ॥
शृतिः ॥ ग्रा भा इत्यत्यार्थिं परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

31. Long ī is substituted for the vowel of the roots ग्रा and धम् in the Intensive.

As जेरीयते, देहीयते ॥ The long ī is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, short ī would have, by VII. 4. 25, given the same forms also.

अस्य चूँ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, चूँ, ॥
शृतिः ॥ ई हाति वर्तते अवर्णन्तस्याङ्गस्य चूँ परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

32. Long ī is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix चिव (V. 4. 50).

As शुक्री करोति, शुक्री भवति, शुक्री स्यात् ॥ खट्टी करोति, खट्टी भवति and खट्टी स्यात् ॥
क्यचि च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यचि, च, ॥
शृतिः ॥ अस्येति वर्तते क्यचि परतोवर्णन्तस्याङ्गस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

33. Long ī is substituted for the final अ or आ of a Nominal stem, before the Denominative affix क्यच् ॥

As उच्चीयति, पदीयति, खट्टीयति, मालीयति ॥ This is an exception to VII. 4. 25. The separating of this aphorism from the preceding, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism.

अशनायोदन्यधनाया बुभुक्षापिपासागर्जेषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशनाय, उदन्य
धनायाः, बुभुक्षा, पिपासा, गर्जेषु, ॥

शृतिः ॥ अशनाय उदन्य धनाय इत्यतानि निपात्यन्ते बुभुक्षा पिपासा गर्जे इत्येतेष्वर्येषु ॥

34. The Denominative roots अशनाय, उदन्य and धनाय are irregularly formed, when they respectively mean 'to be hungry', 'to be thirsty', 'to be greedy'.

Thus अशनायति from अशन-॑-क्यच्, आ instead of ī; the other form being अशनायिति who is not hungry at the time, but wishes to get food for some future occasion, and therefore when not meaning 'to be hungry'; उदन्यति 'he is thirsty', उदन् being substituted for उदक; in any other sense we have उदकथिति, who wants water for purposes of bathing &c. धनायति 'he is greedy'; in any other sense, धनीयति who is poor, and therefore wishes to get riches.

न च छन्दस्य पुत्रस्य ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, छन्दसि, अ, पुत्रस्य ॥
शृतिः ॥ छन्दसि विद्येये पुत्रवर्जितस्यावर्णन्तस्याङ्गस्य क्यचि यदुकं तत्र भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपुत्रादीनामिति वन्नव्यम् ॥

35. In the Veda, the above rules causing lengthening, or the substitution of long ī for the final vowel of the stem, do not apply, except in the case of पुत्र ॥

Thus निवयुः, संत्वेदयुः, इवाऽम् जिगाति सुन्मयुः ॥ But पुत्रीयन्तः, मूर्धनवः (Rig VII. 96. 4).

Vārtī—It should be rather stated पुत्र and the rest: as जनीयन्तोऽन्ययः ॥ See III. 2. 170, for the affix उ ॥

दुरस्युद्रविणस्युवृष्ण्यति रिषण्यति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुरस्युः, द्रविणस्युः, वृष्ण्यति, रिषण्यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुरस्युः द्रविणस्युः वृष्ण्यति रिषण्यति एतानि छन्दसि निपादने ॥

36. In the Veda दुरस्यु, द्रविणस्यु, वृष्ण्यति and रिषण्यति are irregularly formed.

As अवियोना दुरस्युः, (=दुरीयति with the affix क्यच् added to दुर), द्रविणस्यु र्विष्ण्यता (द्रविणीयति, here द्रविणस् is substituted for द्रविण similarly). वृष्ण्यति=वृषीयति (वृषण् substituted for वृष) ॥ रिषण्यति=रिटीयति (रिषण् substituted for रिट) ॥

अश्वाघस्यात् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्व, अघस्य, आत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्व अघ इत्येतयोः क्यचि परतः छन्दसि विषये आकारादेशो भवति ॥

37. In the Veda, long आ is substituted for the final of अश्व and अघ, before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As अश्वायन्तो मध्यन् (Rig VII. 32. 23), मा त्वा वृका अथायवो विश्व ॥ This also indicates that other words do not lengthen their vowel in the Veda before क्यच्, as taught in VII. 4. 35. See Vārtika to III. 1. 8. The word अधायु occurs in Rig I. 120. 7, 27; 3.

देवसुम्भयोर्यजुषि काठके ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव सुम्भयोः, यजुषि, काठके, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ देव सुम्भ इत्येतयोः क्यचि परत आकारादेशो भवति यजुषि काठके ॥

38. Long आ is substituted for the final of देव and सुम्भ before the Denominative क्यच् in Yajush Kāthaka.

As देवायन्तो यजमानाः सुम्भायन्तो हवामहे ॥ Why in the Yajus? Observe हवाडिजगाय सुम्भयुः ॥ Why do we say in the Kāthaka? Observe सुम्भयुरिदमासात् ॥

कव्यध्वरपृतनस्थर्यच्च लोपः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवि, अध्वर, पृतनस्यः, प्रट्चि, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवि अध्वर पृतना इत्येतेषामङ्गानां क्यचि परतो लोपो भवति क्यचि विषये ॥

39. In the Rig Veda, the final of कवि, अध्वर and पृतना is dropped before the Denominative क्यच् ॥

As कव्यन्तः सुमनसः (not in the Rig Veda), अध्वर्यन्तः (not in this case in the Rig Veda). पृतन्यन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति (not in this connection in the Rig. Veda). The examples given above are of Kāshikā: according to Pro. Bohtlingk none of them are from the Rig Veda. The following are given by Bhattoji Dikshita in his Siddhanta Kaumudi: स पूर्वया निविशा कव्यतात्योः (Rig I. 96. 2). अध्वर्यु शा मधुपापिम् (Rig X. 41. 3), इमयन्तं पृतन्युम् ॥

द्यतिस्यतिमास्थामित्ति किति ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यति, स्यति, मा, स्थाम्, इत्, ति, किति ॥

यूक्तिः ॥ यति स्यति मा स्था इत्येतेषामङ्गानामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

40. Short इ is substituted for the final of द्वा, चो, मा, मा and स्था, before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निर्वितः and निर्वितवान्; अवसितः and अवसितवान्, मितः and मितवान्; दित्यः and स्तितवान्, all with न् and न्तवतु ॥ Why before इ? Observe अववाय ॥ Why before a कित् affix? Observe अववाता with हन्त् ॥

शाळोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, छोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

यूक्तिः ॥ शा छा इत्येतयोरन्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥ शार्चिकम् ॥ इत्येतरित्यं ब्रते नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—इवचातो गलो माह इतियोगे च सहितिः ।

मिथस्ते न विभाव्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितब्रतः ॥

41. Short इ is optionally substituted for the final of शा (शो) and छा (छो), before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As निशितं or निशातम्, निशितवान् or निशातवान्; अवश्चित्तं, अवश्चित्तवान् or अवश्चित्तात्, अवश्चित्तवान् ॥ The शा always takes the इ when it means a vow: as संशितो व्याघ्रणः—संशितब्रतः ॥ The rule of this sūtra thus becomes a vyavasthita vibhāshā. Other examples of such vyavasthita vibhāshā are to be found in VIII. 2. 56, where जात and जाण past participles are formed with त् or ण, but जात is only employed in names as तेवचातः &c, and never जाण, while in denoting action both forms are valid: similarly by VIII. 2. 21, गल and गर are both formed, but गल alone is used when 'neck' is meant, and गर alone when 'poison' is indicated; optionally both when an action is meant. Similarly by III. 1. 143, भाह and भह are formed, but भाहः is only used when 'a crocodile' is meant, and भहः alone is employed when a 'planet' is indicated. Similarly the addition of the Present Participle affix शत् and शान्त् under III. 2. 126, is debarred when इति is added, as हन्ति इति पलायते, वर्षतीति धावसि ॥ In all the above examples, the option though taught generically, should be limited to specific cases; as also in the examples गवाक्षः 'a window', and गोऽक्षम् 'cow's eye' (VI. 1. 123) and संशितब्रतः ॥ In short, we should limit a general vibhāshā to a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, on the maxim व्यवस्थितविभाषा विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

दधातेहिः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधाते:, हिः ॥

यूक्तिः ॥ इत्येतरङ्गस्य हीत्यमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

42. हि is substituted for धा (इधाति) before an affix beginning with त् and having an indicatory क् ॥

As हितः, हितपत्, हित्वा ॥

जहातेश्च किं ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, किं ॥

शृण्मः ॥ जहातेरक्षस्य हीत्यथमादेशो भवति त्रूपत्वये परतः ॥

43. हि is substituted for हा (जहाति) before क्त्वा ॥

As हित्वा राज्यं बनम् गतः, हित्वा गच्छति ॥ The rule does not apply to शा जीहते ॥ There we have हात्वा गतः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि ॥

शृण्मः ॥ जहातेरक्षस्य विभाषा हीत्यथमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये त्रूपत्वये परतः ॥

44. हि is optionally substituted for हा before क्त्वा in the Chandas.

As हित्वा शरीरं यात्व्यं, or हात्वा also. The long ई of VI. 4. 62 does not take place also as a Vedic irregularity.

सुधितवसुधितनेमधितविष्वधिषीय च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, विष्व, धिषीय, च ॥

शृण्मः ॥ सुधित वसुधित नेमधित विष्व धिषीय इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

45. These five Vedic forms are irregularly formed, सुधित, वसुधित, नेमधित, विष्व and धिषीय ॥

Of these five, सुधित, वसुधित and नेमधित are formed from the root धा with the affix त्त, preceded by सु, वसु and नेम ॥ As गर्भं माता सुधितम् (=सुष्टितम्), वसुधित-मानौ सुहाति (=वसुहित), नेमधिता वाधन्ते (=नेमहिता) ॥ विष्व is Imperative 2nd Per. Sg. of धा, there is no reduplication, as विष्व सोमम् = धस्व ॥ धिषीय is Benedictive Atmanepada 1st Per. Sg. of धा, the regular form being धासीय ॥

दो दद् धोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, दद्, धोः ॥

शृण्मः ॥ शा इत्येतस्य युसंज्ञकस्य विद्यत्यमादेशो भवति तकाराहौ किति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

46. For दा, when it is a Ghu (I. 1. 20), there is substituted दद् before a कित् affix beginning with त् ॥

As इनः, इत्तवान्, इत्तिः ॥ Why of शा? Observe धीतः, धीतवान् from धेद्; and the long ई is by VI. 4. 66. Why when it is a Ghu? Observe दात् त्वं from दाप् ‘to cut’, and अवशतं युखं from इप् “to cleanse”. The substitute is इथ ending in य, according to an *Ishti*.

Kārikā:—तात्ते दोषो दीर्घत्वं स्थाद्, दात्ते दोषो निष्ठा नवम् ।

धात्ते दोषो धत्वं प्राप्तिस्, यान्ते दाप् स्तसात् यान्तम् ॥

If the substitute be इत् ending in त्, then it would require the lengthening taught in VI. 3. 124. (N. B. The sūtra इस्ति should be interpreted as ‘the vowel of the Preposition is lengthened before a substitute of शा which ends in त्’, in order to make this objection applicable. That sūtra however is capable of another interpretation). If the substitute be इथ ending in य, then the Nishṭhā त् would be changed to न by VIII. 2. 42: as in निदू+त्=भिन्नः ॥ If the substitute be इथ ending in ध्, then by VIII. 2. 40; the Nishṭhā त् would be changed to ध् ॥ Hence the substitute is इथ ॥ If

however, the sūtra VI. 3. 124, is interpreted as "the vowel of a preposition is lengthened before a substitute of शा which begins with त्", then the substitute may be इत् also without any harm. Even if the substitute be इद् or इध्, the apprehended त् and ध् substitutions will not take place, on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य ॥

The following are exceptions to VII. 4. 47, अवदत्तं, विदत्तं, प्रदत्तं, मुदत्तं, अमुदत्तं and निदत्तं ॥ Or the words अव &c, here are not Upasargas. See I. 4. 57.

Kārikā:—अवदत्तं विदत्तं च प्रदत्तं आदिकर्मणि ।

मुदत्तमनुदत्तं च निदत्तमिति चेष्टयते ॥

The word आदिकर्मणि qualifies pradatta only. The word च shows that regular forms अवत्तं, वित्तं, प्रत्तं, &c also are valid.

अच उपसर्गात्तः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, उपसर्गात्, तः ॥

पृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तादुपसर्गादुग्रास्य शा इत्येतस्य युसंशकस्य त इत्यथमादेशो भवति तकारादौ किति ॥
मार्तिकम् ॥ यत्तेरित्वादित्यस्त इत्येतद्वति विप्रतेवपेन ॥

47. त् is substituted for the ghu शा before a कित् affix beginning with त्, when a Preposition ending in a vowel precedes it.

The examples under the present sūtra are प्रत्तं, अवत्तं, नीत्तं, परीत्तं ॥ For the lengthening see VI. 3. 124. Why do we say 'ending in a vowel'? Observe निर्दत्तम् दुर्दत्तम् ॥ Why 'after an Upasarga only'? Observe इधि इत्य, मधु इत्यम् ॥ Why 'the शा called Ghu'? Observe अवशत्तं मुखं from वैष् ॥

Obj. The word उपसर्गात् in the sūtra is in the Ablative case, and by I. 1. 67, the substitute त् should replace only the *first* letter of शा, how does it replace the *whole*?

Ans.—The word अचः is to be repeated in the sūtra, one अचः being in the Ablative case and qualifying उपसर्गात्, and the other अचः being in the Genitiye case, showing the sthānin to be शा, as "after an Upasarga ending in a vowel, त् is substituted *for the vowel of शा*". Or the word अस्य may be read into this sūtra from VII. 4. 32. Or उपसर्गात्तः consists of three त्'s, the substitute being त्तं, and being a substitute of more than one letter, it replaces the *whole* of शा (I. 1. 55). In the following sūtra अपेभि, the अचः in the Ablative case is understood, and therefore त् replaces only प् ॥

Vart:—After a Preposition ending in a vowel, त् is substituted for शा (शे), when प् would have been substituted otherwise for its final by VII. 4. 40. As अवत्तम्, प्रत्तम् लुहेति and नीत्तं, चीत्तं ॥

अपो भि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः, भिः ॥

पृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्याद्ग्रास्य भकारादौ प्रत्यये परतस्त इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

48. त् is substituted for the final of the stem अप before a case-ending beginning with भ् ॥

As अद्यात्, अद्यः, अद्यः ॥ Why beginning with a अ? Observe अप्यु ॥

In the Veda, त् is substituted before अ, for the final of स्ववस्, from सु + अ॒ + असु॒; meaning सोभनमवेयेषां; स्वतवस् from the root तु meaning स्वं तत्रै वेषां; मास and उष्टु, as स्ववद्धिः, स्वतवद्धिः, माद्यरिदा इन्द्रो बृहत्ता, सदुष्टिरजायथाः ॥ The word मास becomes मास् by VI. I. 63.

सः स्याद्यधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, सि, आद्यधातुके ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य सकाराद् वार्द्धधातुके परतस्तकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. त् is substituted for the final स् of a root before an अर्धाधातुका affix beginning with स् ॥

As वस्यति, अवस्थति, विवस्ति, जिवस्ति ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in स'? Observe वक्ष्यति ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with स'? Observe घासः, घासः ॥ Why an अर्धाधातुका? Observe आस्ते, वस्ते, from आस् 'to sit' and वस् 'to cover'; both Adādi roots.

तासस्त्वोर्लोपः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तासअस्त्वोः, लोपः ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ तासेरस्तेष्व सकारस्य सकारादौ प्रत्यये लोपो भवति ॥

50. The final स् of तास् (the character of the second Future) and that of अस् 'to be', is elided before an affix beginning with स् ॥

As कर्त्ताति, कर्त्तासे, खमति, व्यति से ॥ See VI. 4. III. In से the अ and स् both of अस् have been elided, the अ by VI. 4. III, and स् by the present sūtra, so that the mere suffix से remains, which however here is a finite verb: hence the स् is not changed to ए ॥ See VIII. 3. III.

रि च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रि, च ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ रेकादौ च प्रत्यये परतः तासस्त्वोः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

51. The स् of तास् and अस् is dropped before an affix beginning with a ए ॥

As कर्त्तायै, कर्त्तारौ, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ॥ The स् of अस् 'to be' is elided in the Perfect, because it is there that a ए beginning affix can follow it. Thus व्यतिरे (See VI. 4. III). According to the reading of Padamanjari, there can be no example of अस् ॥ अस्तेरुद्धाहरणं न प्रदर्शितं, रेकादेशसम्भवात् ॥

ह एति ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, एति ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ तासस्त्वोः सकारस्य हकारादैशो भवति एति परतः ॥

52. For the स् of तास् and अस् there is substituted ए before the personal-ending ए ॥

As कर्त्ताहै, and व्यति है from अस् ॥ See VI. 4. III. The ए substitution does not take place before the Personal ending ए॒ (III. 4. 8), as एधामासे ॥ The reason of this is that the ए referred to in this sūtra, is that ए which can come after तास्; and that very ए should also come after अस् ॥ The ए that can

come after तास् is the 1st Person singular ए ; and not this ए of the Perfect 3rd Person singular. Others say, this even sārvadhātuka, and therefore not here शुभोऽहं त्वां प्रेक्षामासे ॥

यीवर्णयोर्दीधीवेव्योः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यि, इवर्णयोः, दीधी, वेव्योः ॥
यूनिः ॥ अकारादाविवर्णदौ च परतो दीधीवेव्योलोर्पो भवति ॥

53. The final of दीधी and वेवी falls before an affix beginning with य्, इ or ई ॥

Thus आवीध्य and आवेद्य गतः, आवीध्यते, and आवेद्यते before द् ॥ आवीधित्, आवेदित् ; आवीधीत् and आवेवीत् ॥ Why before य, इ or ई ? Observe आवाध्यनम् and आवेद्यनम् ॥ The long ई in ची is a सूत्रा॒वैचित्र, for विवर्णयोः would have been enough.

सनि मीमाघुरभलभशकपतपदामच इस् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, मी, मा, घु, रभ, लभ, शक, पत, पदा म्, अचः, इस् ॥

यूनिः ॥ सनि प्रत्येक सकारादौ परतो मी मा घु रभ लभ शक पत पद इत्येतेषामङ्गानामचः स्थाने इत्यित्यमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सनि राधो हिंसायामच इस्वन्तव्यः ॥

54. इस् is substituted for the root-vowel of मी, मा, शा and धा (घु), रभ, लभ, शक, पत् and पद् when the Desiderative स्वर् beginning with स् (i. e. not taking the augment ई) follows.

The मी includes मीनाति (Kryādi 4), and मिनोति (मि of Svādi 4) for मि assumes the form मी by VI. 4. 16 Thus मित्याति, प्रमित्याति ॥ The मा denotes all the roots which assume the form मा, on the maxim गामाश्च महणेवविशेषः “ The terms गा, मा or शा when they are employed in Grammar denote both the original roots गा, मा and शा and also the roots which are changed to गा, मा and शा ” ॥ They are मा and माड् माने, and नेड् प्रणिवाने ॥ Thus मित्यते, अप मित्यते ॥ दु—दित्यति, धि-त्यति ; रभ—आरिप्त्यते, लभ—आलिप्त्यते, शक—शिक्त्यति, पत्—पित्यति, पद्—प्रपित्यते ॥ In the roots that end in a vowel, the स् of इस् is changed to त् by VII. 4. 49, and in the roots that end in a consonant, this स् is dropped, according to VIII. 2. 29. The reduplication falls by VII. 4. 58.

Why do we say ‘when the Desiderative follows’? Observe शस्यति ॥ The word स्वि is understood here from VII. 4. 49, so the rule will not apply when the Desiderative takes the augment ई, as म पातपाति ॥ Here पत् optionally takes ई under the वार्तिका तनिपतिशरिहाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

Vārti :—The इस् comes after the root-vowel of राध् in the Desiderative, when the sense is that of to injure. As प्रति रित्यति ॥ Why do we say when the sense is that of ‘to injure’? Observe आरि रात्यति ॥

आप्त्यृधामीत् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आप्, शप्, त्रुधाम्, ईत् ॥
यूनिः ॥ आप् ज्ञपि कृध इत्येतेषामङ्गानामच ईकारोदेशो भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

55. For the vowel of the roots आप्, ज्ञपि and कृध् there is substituted long ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

Thus आप्—ईप्सति, ज्ञपि—ज्ञीप्सति, कृध्—ईर्वस्ति (I. 1. 51.). The reduplication is dropped by VII. 4. 58. In the Causative stem ज्ञपि there are two vowels, the ई (णि) is dropped by पूर्वा-vipratischedha (the prior debarring the subsequent) according to VI. 4. 51, and ई substituted for अ according to the present sūtra. The word सन् is to be read into the sūtra, otherwise प्रापस्यति ॥ The सन् must begin with स् i.e. should not take the इ॒ augment, as in जिज्ञपथिषति, ज्ञाहिषिषति ॥ The roots ज्ञपि and कृध् are optionally सेद् in the Desiderative by VII. 2. 49.

दम्भ इच्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दम्भः, इत्, च ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ दम्भेत्य इकारादेशो भवति चकारादीच सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

56. For the vowel of the root दम्भ् there is substituted ई as well as ई before the सन् of the Desiderative, when it begins with स् ॥

As भीप्सति or खिप्सति ॥ But इश्विम्भर्षीत before the सेद्सन् ॥ The reduplication falls off by VII. 4. 58.

मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुचः, अकर्मकस्य, गुणः वाः ॥
यृत्तिः ॥ मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा भवति सनि सकारादौ परतः ॥

57. When मुच् has an Intransitive signification, Guṇa is optionally substituted for its vowel before the anīt सन् of the Desiderative.

By I. 2. 10, after a root ending in a consonant, the सन् is like कित् and does not cause Guṇa. The present sūtra ordains it optionally. As मोक्षते or मुमुक्षत वत्सः स्वब्देव ॥ In the Transitive there is one form only, as मुमुक्षति वत्सं इयदत्तः ॥ एव युच् becomes Intransitive when it has a Reflexive significance, or when it expresses a mere action. The reduplication is elided by VII. 4. 58.

अत्र लोपोभ्यासस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, लोपः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ यदेतत्प्रकान्तं सनि मीमेत्यादि मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणेवति यावत् अभ्यासलोपो भवति ॥

58. The reduplicate is dropped under the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing sūtras VII. 4. 54 to VII. 4. 57.

The examples are given under the above-mentioned sūtras. The word 'of the reduplicate' अभ्यासस्य is to be supplied in all the subsequent sūtras upto the end of the chapter. Thus Sūtra VII. 4. 59, says 'a short is to be substituted', we must supply the words 'for the reduplicate' to com-

plete the sense: as दुदौकिषते, तुतौकिषते ॥ The word अत्र in the sūtra indicates that the reduplication is not to be elided, when an affix is treated like सन् but is not actually सन् ॥ Thus च्छ-*Aorist* is treated like सन् by VII. 4. 93; but the reduplication will not be dropped there: as अमीमपत्, अवीपत् ॥ Some say the word अत्र here indicates that the *whole* of the reduplicate is dropped, and not only its final letter. Others elide the whole of the reduplicate on the maxim नानर्थकोऽलोऽल्पविधिः ॥ "The rule I. 1. 52, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the Genitive case, is not valid, where what is exhibited in the Genitive is meaningless".

हस्तः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वस्त्रो भवत्यभ्यासस्य ॥

यार्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यासस्यानन्ति ॥

यार्तिकम् ॥ अरि अलि पति वहीगां वा दित्यमच्याकं चाभ्यासस्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

59. A short is substituted for the long vowel of the reduplicate.

As दुदौकिषते, तुतौकिषते, दुदौके, तुतौके, अदुदौकत्, अतुतौकत् ॥

Vārt :—The shortening takes place before affixes other than अत् (III. 1. 134). Before अत्, the roots चर्, चल्, पत् and वह् are reduplicated, and the augment अक् added to the reduplicate. See VI. 1. 12 *Vārt*. This augment when added to the reduplicate, is not to be shortened by this rule: and because this is not to be shortened, also indicates that the consonants of the reduplicate other than the first are also not dropped: as चराचर, चलाचल, पता-पतः, वहावहः ॥

हलादिः शेषः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् आदिः, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य हलादिः शिष्यते अनादिलुप्त्यते ॥

60. Of the consonants of the reduplicate, only the first is retained, the remainders are dropped. ,

As जग्नौ, मन्मौ, पपाच, पपाठ, आट, आटतुः, आटः ॥ This rule ordains the retention of the initial consonant, if any, and elision of the non-initials in the reduplicate. If the root begins with a vowel as अट्, there being no initial consonant, in अट् अट्, the ट् will be elided of course. The word हलादिः should not be construed as a Genitive Tatpurusha 'first among the consonants', for then in अक्+लिद् = अक् अक्, the क् only would be elided, and क् retained.

The word शेषः or शिष्यते here means अवस्थाप्यते 'is retained'. The word हलादिः is not a compound. For had it been a compound, then if it is a Karma-dhāraya, the word आदि should stand first; if it be a Genitive compound then the first among compound consonants would be retained and we could not get the form आनक्ष from अक्ष. The word abhyāsa is to be taken in the sense of jāti or kind, i.e. in the jāti which is collectively called abhyāsa, the consonant that stands first in respect to abhyāsa, is retained, and not the consonant standing

in any other portion of it. So that all consonants, where ever they may be situate in the body of an abhyāsa, whether in the beginning or middle or end, are dropped, except one with which the abhyāsa begins. Thus if the abhyāsa begins with a simple consonant, it is retained; if it begins with a conjunct consonant, the first is only retained; and if the consonant or consonants are not in the beginning they are all dropped.

Others say, the word शेषः here means "retention along with the cessation of others". Therefore, though literally the word शेषः or retention appears to be the principal word in this sūtra, yet as a matter of fact, it is secondary, because the injunction is not with regard to retention, but with regard to cessation. The rule is not "Retain the first consonant"; but "Drop every consonant but the first, if there be a first consonant". Or the sūtras 59 and 60, may be combined and read thus: हस्तोऽहल् "The abhyāsa becomes short and also without consonant". आदिशेषः "The first consonant is retained". Or the sūtras may be divided thus:—

- (1) 'A short vowel is substituted in the abhyāsa'.
- (2) 'The consonants of abhyāsa are all elided'.
- (3) The first is retained.

The sūtras 59 and 60 must be joined by sandhi "हस्तोऽहलादिशेषः", and then we shall be able to read an elided अ between हस्त and ल, as if it was a compound of हस्त and अहल् ॥

शर्पूर्वाः खयः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्पूर्वाः, खयः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य शर्पूर्वाः खयः शिथ्यन्ते ॥
वाच्चिकम् ॥ खर्पूर्वाः खय इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. Of a reduplicate, the hard consonants (aspirate and unaspirate) when preceded by a sibilant, are only retained, the other consonants are elided.

As चुश्च्योतिष्ठति, from श्युतिर् ksharaṇe, तिष्ठोत्ति, विस्पन्दिष्ठते ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a sibilant'? Observe पषाच ॥ Why do we say hard consonants? Observe स्मौ ॥

Vārt:—It should be said rather, a hard consonant preceded by a hard consonant or a sibilant is only retained: and the खर् consonants are elided: as in उच्चिष्ठप्ति, here उहु becomes उच्छु by the augment त् (तुहु); in the reduplicate the च् should be elided, and छ् retained out of च्छ; and not च् retained and छ् elided; for the च् represents त्, and if this were retained, it would be त् and not च् that would be heard: for by VIII. 2. 1, the change of त् to च् is asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

कुहोश्चुः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुहोः, चुः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्य कर्वग्नहकारयोऽकर्वग्नदिशो भवति ॥

62. For the Guttural and *ह* of a reduplicate there is substituted a Palatal.

As चकार, चखान, जगाम, जचान, जहार, जिहीर्दति, जहौ ॥

न कवतेर्यडि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, कवतेः, यडि ॥

युन्तः ॥ कवतेर्यासस्य यडि परतद्युर्न भवति ॥

63. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कु (कवते) in the Intensive.

As कोकूयते उद्धः, कोकूयते खरः ॥ The कु here is कुङ् (Bhu. 999), and not कु 'to make sound' (Ad. 33, कौति), nor कुङ् (Tud. 108, कुवति) ॥ Of those two, we have ओकूयते ॥ Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe चुकुवे ॥

कुवेश्छन्दसि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुवेः, छन्दसि ॥

युन्तः ॥ कुवेश्छन्दसि विषये यडि परतोर्यासस्य युर्न भवति ॥

64. The Palatal is not substituted for the Guttural of the reduplicate of कुष् in the Veda, when in the Intensive.

As करीकूष्यते यज्ञकुणपः; otherwise चरीकूष्यते कूषीवलः ॥

दार्थर्त्तिदर्ढर्त्तिदर्ढर्पिवोभूतेतिकेलर्थ्यपनीफणत्संसनिष्यदत्करिकत्कनिकदर्ढ-
रिभ्रहिष्वतो दविश्युतत्तरित्रितः सरीसृपतंवरीवृजन्मर्ज्यागनीगन्तीति च ॥ ६५ ॥
पदानि ॥ दार्थर्त्ति, दर्ढर्त्ति, दर्ढर्पि, बोभूतु, तेतिके, अलर्पि, आपनीफणत्, संसनि ष्य-
दत्, करिकत्, कनिकदत्, भरिभ्रत्, दविष्युतत्, तरित्रितः, सरीसृपतम्,
वरीवृजत्, मर्ज्यागनी गन्ति, इति, च ॥

युन्तः ॥ दार्थर्त्ति दर्ढर्त्ति बोभूतु तेतिके अलर्पि आपनीफणत् संसनि ष्यदत् करिकत् कनिकदत्
भरिभ्रत् दविष्युतत् तरित्रितः सरीसृपतं वरीवृजत् मर्ज्यागनीगन्ति इत्येतानि ऋषादश छन्दसि
विषये निपातन्ते ॥

65. In the Veda are found the following eighteen irregularly reduplicated forms:—1 dādharti, 2 dardharti, 3 dardharshi, 4 bobhūtu, 5 tetikte, 6 alarshi, 7 अ paniphānat, 8 sam sanishyadat. 9 karikrat, 10 kanikradat, 11 bhari-bhrat, 12 davidhvataḥ, 13 davidyutat, 14 taritrataḥ, 15 sarisṛpatam, 16 varivṛjat, 17 marmṛjya and 18 अ ganīganti.

The word छन्दसि is drawn in to this sūtra, by force of च ॥ The form शधर्ति, is either from the Causative of the root धृ अवस्थाने or from धृश्, in the श्लु or यद्य लुक्, there is lengthening of the abhyāsa and elision of णि ॥ (2) So also दर्ढर्त्ति is the form in श्लु, with लुक् augment of the abhyāsa. (3) दर्ढर्पि if it be a form of यद्य लुक्, there is no irregularity. (4) बोभूतु is from भू in the Intensive (यद्य लुक्), Imperative, irregularly without guṇa. Q. There is no necessity of including this, because there would be no guṇa regularly even under VII. 3.

88? Ans. The inclusion of बोभृत् is a jñāpaka, indicating that in every other case, the *guṇa* is not prohibited in the Intensive (यह् लुक्), as गोभेति, वाभवीति (ल् with इ VII. 3. 94) (5) तेतिन्ते is from तिज् in the Intensive यां luk, ātmanepada is irregular. Q. The यह् is डिन् and therefore by pratyaya lakshaṇa rule (I. 1. 62) read with I. 3. 12, the यह् लुक् will be ātmanepadi, where is the necessity of reading this nipātan? Ans. The ātmanepada nipātan is a jñāpaka, that in the Intensive यां luk the ātmanepada affixes are not employed. (6) अलर्णि is from the root ल् (इर्णि), in Present, 2nd Person, the र् of abhyāsa is not elided, though required by VII. 4. 60, and this र् is changed to ल् irregularly. This form is found in the 3rd Person also, as अलर्णि इः ॥ (7) आ पनीकण्ठः is from कण् with आ augment, and शत् affix is added to यह् लुक्, and in the reduplicate नी is added. (8) संसनिष्पदत् is from स्यन् with the Preposition सम्, in the Intensive यां luk, with शत् affix, नि being added in the abhyāsa, the root स् is changed to ष ॥ The Preposition स् is not absolutely necessary, with other Prepositions also we have this form, as आ सनिष्पदत् ॥ (9) क्रिकत् is from क् (करोति), in the Intensive यां luk, with शत्, in the abhyāsa there is no palatal change (VII. 4. 62), and रि is added to the reduplicate. (10) कनिकश्चत् from कन् in the Aorist with अव्, reduplication, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62) of the reduplicate, and the augment नी is added. In the secular literature, the form is अकन्दीत् ॥ (11) अभि-भत् from भ् (विभवति) in यां luk with शत्, without इ of VII. 4. 76, without jaśtva, and रि is added to the reduplicate. (12) विधवतः from धृत् (ध्वरते) in the यां luk, शत्, plural number Nominative. The वि is added to the reduplicate, the धृ is elided, विधवतः रजमयः सूर्यस्य ॥ (13) विद्युतम् is from द्युत्, यां luk with शत्, there is no vocalisation of the reduplicate, with अ change and वि augment. (14) तरितः: from तृ (तरति) with श्लु, शत्, genitive singular: and रि added to abhyāsa. (15) सरीसृपत् from सृप् with श्लु, शत्, Accusative with रि added to abhyāsa. (16) वरीवृजत् from वृज् with श्लु, शत् and रि augment. (17) मर्तज् from वृज् with लिद् (Perfect) जल्, र् added to abhyāsa, and य् added to the root, and there is no vṛiddhi, because there is no short penultimate now. In fact VII. 2. 114 is to be qualified by the words लघूपथ from VII. 3. 86. (18) आ गनी-गन्ति is from गम् with the Preposition आ, in the Perfect, with श्लु, there is no chutva (VII. 4. 62), and augment नी is added. वक्ष्यन्ति वेदा गनीगन्ति कर्णम् ॥

The word इति in the aphorism indicates that other forms, similar to these, are also to be included.

उरत् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अत् ॥

दृतिः ॥ अद्वयनितस्याभ्यासस्याकारादेशो भवति ॥

66. अ् (I. 1. 51) is substituted for the अव् or अद् of the reduplicate.

As ववृते, ववृषे, ववृष्ये, वर्नन्ति, नरिन्ति नरीन्ति ॥ The र् is elided by VII. 4. 60. In the Intensives VII. 4. 90 &c, are applied, by which after the substitution of अ्,

by the present sūtra, we apply those sūtras and add रिक् रक् रिक् &c: for the maxim is अभ्यासविकारेषु अपवादो तंत्सर्गन् विधीन् बाप्ते "so far as the changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned special (apavāda) rules do not supersede the general (utsarga) rules".

युतिस्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युतिः स्वाप्योः, संप्रसारणम् ॥
युतिः ॥ युति स्वापि इलतेयार्थायस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

67. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of युत् and स्वापि (Causative of स्वप्) ॥

As वि वियुतन्, वि वियोतिष्ठते, वि वियुतिष्ठते, (I. 2. 26) वि वियुत्यते ॥ स्वापि—युव्याप्यिष्ठति ॥ The Causative of स्वप् is taken here, and the vocalisation takes place then only, when it is immediately followed by an affix which causes reduplication. Therefore not here, स्वापि + पुल् = स्वापकः; स्वापक + क्षयच् = स्वापकीय, स्वापकीय + सन् = सिद्धापकीयिष्ठति ॥

The simple root स्वप् will get vocalised in its reduplicate by VI. 1. 15, 17 in the Perfect. The Desiderative of स्वप् is कित् by I. 2. 8, and therefore the reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised before सन् by VI. 1. 15. The reduplicate of स्वप् will be vocalised in the Intensive also by VI. 1. 19.

Quere :—Does the reduplicate of the Desiderative of the Denominative verb योतकीयति get vocalised or not.

व्यथो लिटि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यथः, लिटि ॥
युतिः ॥ व्यथेलिटि परतोभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

68. There is vocalisation of the half-vowel of the reduplicate of व्यथ in the Perfect.

As विव्यथे, विव्यथाते, विव्ययिष्ठे ॥ This ordains the vocalisation of य, which otherwise would have been elided as being a non-initial consonant (VII. 4. 60). The vocalisation of य is prevented by VI. 1. 37. Why do we say in the Perfect? Observe वाच्यव्ययते ॥

दीर्घ इणः किति ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, इणः, किति ॥
युतिः ॥ इणोङ्गस्य योभ्यासस्तस्य दीर्घो भवति किति लिटि परतः ॥

69. A long vowel is substituted in the reduplicate of the root इ (एति), before a Personal ending of the Perfect, which has an indicatory क् ॥

As ईयतुः, ईयुः ॥ These are thus formed इ+अतुस्=य+अतुः (य substituted for इ by VI. 4. 81). Then there is reduplication, the य becomes यन्निवात to इ by I. 1. 59, and we have इ य+अतुः and then by the present rule ईयुः ॥ Why do we say before a कित् affix? Observe इयाय, इययिथ ॥

अत आदेः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, आदेः, ॥
युतिः ॥ अभ्यासस्यावेकारस्य शीर्षो भवति-लिटि परतः ॥

70. A long vowel is substituted in the Perfect for the initial अ of a reduplicate.

This debars the single substitute of the form of the subsequent ordained by VI. 1. 97. Thus आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥ Why do we say 'the *initial*'? Observe पपाच and पपट ॥ Thus अट् + अतुः = अट् अट् + अतुः = अ अट् + अतुः = आ अट् + अतुः ॥

तस्मान्तुइ द्विहलः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, तुइ, द्वि-हलः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्माद्योऽयासार्थीभूतादुचरस्य द्विहलोङ्गस्य तुडागमो भवति ॥

71. After such a lengthened आ of the reduplicate, there is added the augment तुइ (न) to the short अ of the root which ends in a double consonant.

As from अञ्च—आ अञ्च=आन् अञ्च, which with the affixes of the Perfect gives us, आनहग, आनङ्गतुः, आनङ्गयुः ॥ From अञ्ज—आनञ्ज, आनञ्जतुः, आनञ्जुः ॥ Why do we say 'containing two consonants'? Observe आट, आटतुः, आटुः ॥

With regard to तुइ augment, इ is considered like ई, as आनृथतुः, आनृथुः ॥ This proceeds on a वार्तिका to be found under the Pratyâhâra sûtra ए औच् ॥ The वार्तिका is तुविविधि—लादेश—विनामाषु इक्करे प्रतिविधातव्यं ॥ The examples of लादेश are क्लृप्तः, क्लृप्तवान्; (See VIII. 2. 18) and of विनाम are कर्तृणाम् and भर्तृणाम् ॥

अश्वोतेश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्वोतेः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्विहलर्थ आरम्भः ॥ अश्वोतेश्च वीर्धीभूताद्यासादुचरस्य तुडागमो भवति ॥

72. After the lengthened आ of the reduplicate of अश्व (अश्वोति), comes the augment तुइ (न) before the short अ of the root in the Perfect.

This applies to a case where the root does not contain a double consonant. Thus व्यानश्च, व्यानश्चते, व्यानश्चिरे ॥ The rule applies to अश्व (Svâdi 18) and not to अश्व (Kryâdi 51); there we have आशा, आशतुः, आशुः ॥

भवतेरः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवते:, अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेरभ्यासस्याकारादेशो भवते लिटि परतः ॥

73. अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of भू in the Perfect.

As बभूव, बभूवतुः, बभूयुः, बभूये ॥ Why do we say 'in the Perfect'? Observe बभूषति and बोभूयते ॥

The word भवते: is shown in the sûtra in the Active Voice, therefore the rule will not apply to Passive and Reflexive forms; as अनुबुभूये कम्बलो देय-इत्तेन ॥ This opinion of Kâsikâ, however, is not endorsed by later Grammarians.

ससूबेति निगमे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ससूव, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ससूव इति निपातते सूतेलिटि परस्मैपवं तुडागमो भ्यासस्य आत्वं निपातते ॥

74. In the Veda ससूच is irregularly formed in the Perfect.

It is derived from सू. Thus संसूच स्थविर विपश्चिताम् otherwise शुषुपे ॥ Rig. IV. 18 10.

This word ससूच might well have been included in sūtra VII. 4. 65.

निजां त्रयाणां गुणः श्लौ ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निजाम्, त्रयाणाम्, गुणः, श्लौ ॥
भृत्तिः ॥ निजादीनां त्रयाणाम्यासस्य गुणो भवति श्लौ सति ॥

75. Guṇa is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present form (इलु) of निज्, विज् and विष् ॥

Thus नेनेन्नि, वेवेन्नि, वेवेष्टि ॥ The word त्रयाणां could have been spared in this sūtra, as these three roots stand at the end of a subdivision, and निजां would have denoted these three without the word trayāṇyām. The word is however used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. Why do we say in the reduplicated Present form? Observe निजेज in the Perfect.

भृज्ञामित् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृज्ञाम्, इत् ॥
भृत्तिः ॥ भृज्ञादीनां त्रयाणाम्यासस्येकारावेशो भवति श्लौ सति ॥

76. In the Reduplicated Present-form of the three roots भृ, मा (माङ्) and हा (ओहाङ्), इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate.

As विभर्ति, निर्मीते, (VI. 4. 113) जिहीति ॥ The word 'three' is understood here, therefore not in ओहाङ्—अहाति ॥ The rule applies in the Reduplicated Present system (इलु) only: therefore not in वभार ॥

अर्त्तिपिपत्त्योश्च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्त्ति-पिपत्त्योः, च ॥
भृत्तिः ॥ अर्त्ति पिपत्ति इत्येत्योर्भ्यासस्येकारावेशो भवति श्लौ ॥

77. इ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate of अङ् and पृ in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As इयर्ति (VI. 4. 78) धूमम्, पिपत्ति सोमम् ॥

यहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यहुलम्, छन्दसि ॥
भृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये भ्यासस्य श्लौ यहुलमिकारावेशो भवति ॥

78. इ is diversely substituted in the Veda, for the vowel of the reduplicate, in the Reduplicated Present-form.

As पूर्णो विवटिं (from वष्ट), जनिमा विशक्तिं (from वच्), वस्त्रं न माना सिषक्ति (from सच्), and जियर्ति सोमम् ॥ But also इवाति, जज्ञनम्, इधनत् as in इवातीत्येवं शूयात्; जज्ञनमिन्द्रं माता यद्योर् इथनद् धनिष्ठा ॥ All these three roots belong to Juhotyādi class.

सन्यतः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, अतः ॥
भृत्तिः ॥ सनि परतोकारान्ताभ्यासस्येकारावेशो भवति ॥

79. इ is substituted for the final short अ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative.

As विपक्षति, वियथति, (VIII. 2. 36; 41) तिदासति, विपासति ॥ Why do we say in the Desiderative? Observe पदानि ॥ Why do we say "for the अ"? Observe लुप्तवति ॥ Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe पापचयते the Desiderative of the Intensive पापचयते ॥

ओः पुयणज्यपरे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, पु-यण-जि-अंपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाति वस्तेत् इविति च ॥ उवर्णान्ताभ्यासस्य पवर्गे याण जकार आवर्णपरे परते इकारारेशो भवति साने प्रत्यये परतः ॥

80. इ is substituted for the final उ or ऊ of a reduplicate, before a labial, a semi-vowel and before ज्, when अ or आ follows these consonants, in the Desiderative.

The word पु-यण-जि is the Locative singular of the samāhāra dvandva compound of those three words—पु, यण and ज् ॥ The samāsānta affix द्व (V. 4. 106) does not come, as these affixes are anitya. The word अ-पर means that after which is the letter अ ॥

Thus: 1. Labial:—विपविषते, विपावयिषति, विभावयिषति; 2. Semi-vowel:—वियविषति, वियावयिषति, विरावयिषति; 3. ज—जिजावयिषति from the root ज्ञ ॥

The word विपविषते is from पु which gets इ augment in सन् (VII. 2. 74), then there is गुणा, and अन् substitutions; but these latter being sthanivat for reduplication (I. 1. 59), पु is doubled: and for ऊ there is substited इ by the present sūtra. विपावयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of पु ॥ विभावयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of भू ॥ वियविषति is the Desiderative of यु 'to mix', which is संदे by VII. 2. 49. वियावयिषति is the Desiderative of the Causative of this root. The words विरावयिषति and लिलावयिषति are the Desiderative of the Causatives of रैति and लुनाति ॥

This sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—भद्रिव्वचन निमित्ते-इषि औ स्थानिषद् भवति, "though not the cause of reduplication, the substitute which takes place when णि follows, becomes like the original". Thus in विभावयिषति we have भवति + सन् from भू + णि + सन्, here the आश् substitute caused by णि is sthanivat to ऊ, otherwise there would be no ऊ in the reduplicate to be operated upon by the present sūtra. See VI. 1. 31 also. Why do we say "for the उ or ऊ"? Observe पापचयते, the Desiderative of which will be पापचिषति ॥ Why do we say "followed by a labial; semi-vowel or ज्"? Observe अव तुता वयिषति from the sautra root तु ॥ तुहावयिषति ॥ Why do we say 'when these consonants are followed by an अ'? Observe दुभूषति ॥

स्ववतिशृणोतिद्रवतिप्रवतिप्लवतिच्यवतीनां वा ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्ववति-शृणो-ति-द्रवति-प्रवति-प्लवति-च्यवतीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववति शृणोति द्रवति प्रवति प्लवति च्यवति इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य ओरवर्णपरे याण वा इकारारेशो भवति साने परतः ॥

81. इ is optionally substituted for the final उ of the reduplicate of शु, श्व, द्व, प्रु, प्लु and च्यु when the semi-vowel is followed by अ or आ in the Desiderative.

Thus सिस्तावयिषति or सुस्तावयिषति ; शिश्वावयिषति or शुश्वावयिषति ; विश्वावयिषति or दुश्वावयिषति ; पिश्वावयिषति or पुश्वावयिषति ; पिश्वावयिषति or पुश्वावयिषति ; चिच्छावयिषति or चुच्छावयिषति ॥ All these are Desideratives of the Causatives of the above roots. Here though a letter like स्, श्, द् &c, intervenes between the semi-vowel and the preceding उ of the reduplicate, yet the substitution takes place owing to the express text of this sūtra. In the preceding aphorism, the semi-vowel followed *immediately* after the उ of the reduplicate. The option of the present sūtra is, therefore, an aprāpta-vibhāshā. The word अप्ते is understood here also : therefore not in शुसूषति, शुशूषति ॥

गुणो यह्न्त्वकोः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुणः, यह्न्-लुकोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यह्नि यह्न्त्वकि च इग्नतस्याभ्यासस्य गुणो भवति ॥

82. Guṇa is substituted for the इ and उ (with their long) of a reduplicate, when the Intensive character यह्न् follows and also when it is elided.

Thus चेचीयते, लोलूयते with यह्न्, and जोहवीति with यह्न् लुक् ॥ The ईर्हन् is added in the latter by VII. 3. 94. So also चोहेवीति from कुण् (VII. 3. 94 and 87).

दीर्घोक्तिः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, अकितः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकितोभ्यासस्य दीर्घो भवति यह्नि यह्न्त्वकि च परतः ॥

83. A long vowel is substituted for the अ of the reduplicate in the Intensive (with expressed or elided यह्न्), when the reduplicate receives no augment having an indicatory क् ॥

The reduplicate receives augments like नीक्, तुक् by the following sūtras. Thus पापच्यते, and पापचीति, यायज्यते and यायजीति ॥ Why do we say "when it gets no augment"? Observe यंगम्यते, यंगमीति, रंगम्यते, रंगमीति ॥

Obj:—When the क् augment is added, the reduplicate will end in a consonant, and as it does not end in a vowel, there will be no occasion for lengthening; hence the employment of the term अकितः is useless.

Ans.—The employment of this term by the Achārya indicates the existence of the following maxim : अभ्यासविकारव्यपादा नोत्सर्गान् विधात् वाधते “so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules which teach those changes do not supersede one another”. What is the necessity of this

indication (jñāpaka)? Observe दोऽव्ययते, here the rule of lengthening of this sūtra, does not supersede, though it is subsequent, the rule of shortening in VII. 4. 59; so the diphthong औ is shortened to उ, and it is then gunated by VII. 4. 82. Secondly observe अचीकरत्, here इ is substituted in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79 plus 93, and then this is lengthened by VII. 4. 94, the latter not superseding the former. Thirdly observe मीमांसते &c, where in मान् + सन् (III. 1. 6), the reduplicate is lengthened, but that does not prevent the इ of VII. 4. 79. Fourthly observe अजीगणन्, where the ई substitute (VII. 4. 97) does not supersede the sūtra VII. 4. 60, by which the ण् of गण् is elided.

नीवृच्छुञ्चसुधंसुकसपतपदस्कन्दाम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नीक्, वज्ञु-संसुधंसु-भंसु-कस-पत-पद-स्कन्दाम् ॥

वृच्छः ॥ वज्ञु संसु धंसु भंसु कस पत पद स्कन्द इत्येतेषामभ्यासस्य नीगागमो भवति यडिं यहलुकि च ॥

84. The augment नीक् is added to the reduplicate of the Intensive (with the expressed or elided यड़) in the following :—वज्ञु, संस्, धंस्, भंस्, कस्, पत्, पद् and स्कन्द् ॥

Thus वनीवृच्यते and वनीवृच्छीति; सनीस्तस्यते and सनीधंस्यते; दनीधस्यते and दनीधंसीति; बनीधस्यते and बनीधंसीति, (बनीधश्यते and बनीधंशीति), चनीकस्यते and चनीकसीति; पनीपत्यते and पनीपत्तीति, पनीपथ्यते and पनीपशीति; चनीस्कश्यते and चनीस्कन्दीति ॥ The nasal is elided in one alternative by VI. 4. 24.

नुगतोनुनासिकान्तस्य ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुक्, अतः, अनुनासिक-अन्तस्य ॥
वृत्तः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्थ यो-भ्यासास्तस्याकारान्तस्य नुगागमो भवति यडिंयहलुकोः परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ पशान्तव्यते वक्तव्यम् ॥

85. The augment नुक् (न्) is added after the short अ of a reduplicate in the Intensive (with or without यड़), when the root ends in a Nasal.

As तन्तन्यते and तन्तनीति; जङ्गम्यते and जङ्गमीति, यंयम्यते and यंयमीति; रंस्यते and रंसीति ॥ The augment न् here should be considered as anusvāra, because an ādeśa is indicated by the nature of the sthānin which is replaced; and therefore in यंयम्यते, it remains anusvāra. Had it been न्, it could not have been changed to anusvāra in यंयम्यते, रंस्यते (See VIII. 3. 24). In तन्तन्यते &c, the anusvāra is changed to न्, ङ् &c, by VIII. 4. 58; the other forms तंतन्यते तंतनीति, जंगम्यते, जंगमीति are derived by the following :—

Vart :—This anusvāra should be treated as if it was at the end of a Pada or word. That being so, VIII. 4. 59 applies, and we have the anusvāra unchanged, as in तंतन्यते &c.

Why do we say "after a short अ"? Observe तंतन्यते ॥ The न् in अत् indicates that the augment will not be added to a reduplicate which once was long आ but became short by VII. 4. 59 as from भाम 'to be angry', is वाभाम्यते.

(the second lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 83). Why do we say ēnding in a nasal? Observe पापश्यते ॥

जपजभदहदशभञ्जपशां च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जप-जभ-दह-दश-भञ्ज-पशाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जप जभ दह दश भञ्ज पश इत्येतामभ्यासस्य तुगागमो भवति यह्यहलुकोः परतः ॥

86. The augment नुक् comes after the reduplicates of जप, जभ, दह, दश, भञ्ज, and पश in the Intensive¹ (with or without यह्) ॥

Thus जंजप्यते and जंजपीति; जंजभीति, दंदह्यते and दंदहीति; दंदश्यते and दंदशीति ॥ The root is दंश्, but it is exhibited in the sūtra as दश्, showing that even in यह्यहलुक्, the root loses its nasal. Similarly वंभञ्जयते and वंभञ्जीति, and पंपश्यते and पंपशीति ॥ This last is a sautra root.

चरफलोद्ध ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर-फलोः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चर फल इत्येतामभ्यासस्य तुगागमो भवति यह्यहलुकोः परतः ॥

87. The augment नुक् comes after the reduplicate of चर् and फल् in the Intensive (with or without यह्) ॥

Thus चंचूर्यते and चंचूरीति (the lengthening of क् is by VIII. 2. 77) पंफुल्यते and पंफुलीति ॥ See the following sūtra.

उत्परस्यातः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, परस्य, अतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चरफलोरभ्यासात्परस्यात उकारादेशो भवति यह्यहलुकोः परतः ॥

88. For the subsequent अ (i. e. for the अ of the root and not of the reduplicate), there is substituted उ in the Intensive (with or without यह्) of चर् and फल् ॥

The examples have been given above, as चंचूर्यते, चंचूरीति and पंफुल्यते पंफुलीति ॥ Why do we say 'the अ which stands subsequent to the reduplicate'? The substitute does not replace the अ of the reduplicate. Why do we say 'of अ'? The substitute should not replace the final letter, which it otherwise would have done by I. 1. 52. The त् in उत् debars guṇa (VII. 3. 86) in चंचूर्ति and पंफुलीति, for though त् is lengthened by VIII. 2. 77, in चंचूर्ति, yet that lengthening is considered as non-existent or asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of Guṇa (VII. 3. 86). *Quere*. If the त् in उत् debars guṇa, why should it not debar lengthening also of VIII. 2. 77?

ति च ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकरावौ प्रत्येक परतभ-फलोरकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

89. उ is substituted for the vowel of चर् and फल् before an affix beginning with त् ॥

Thus चूर्ति: (= चरणः or छाणः), प्रफुल्लः and प्रफुलाः ॥ The anuvṛitti of यह्यहलुकोरभ्यासस्य does not apply here, though present. See VIII. 2. 55.

रीगृदुपधस्य च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ रीक्, अहत-उपधस्य, च ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य रीगागमो भवति यह्लुकोः परतः ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रीगृत्वत इति वन्नव्ययम् ॥

90. The reduplicate of a root, which has a अह् in the penultimate position, gets the augment री in the Intensive (with or without यह्) ॥

As वरीवृत्यते and वरीवृत्तीति, वरीवृष्टते and वरीवृधीति, नरीनृत्यते and नरीनृत्तीति ॥

Vārttī—It should be rather stated ‘a root which contains a अह्’: when यह् follows, whether this अह् be of upadeśa, or obtained by samprasāraṇa, so that the augment may come in वरीवृच्यते and वरीवृश्चिति where the अह् is of vocalisation, and not penultimate also.

रुत्रिकौ च लुकि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुक्-रिकौ, च, लुकि ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ यह्लुकी अदुपधस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य समिकावागमौ भवतश्चकाराद्रीक्ष ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मर्षज्यते मर्षज्यमानास इत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The augments रीक्, रुक् and रिक् come after the reduplicate of a root which has a अह् in the penultimate, only when the यह् of the Intensive is elided.

Thus नर्तति, नर्तिति, and नरीतति; वर्तति, वर्तिति, वरीवर्ति ॥ The च in रुक् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment is रु ॥

Vārttī—मर्षज्यते and मर्षज्यमानास: should also be enumerated. These have taken रुक् augment, though the यह् is not elided here.

अहतश्च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहतः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य योऽभ्यासस्तस्य समिकावागमौ भवतो रीक्षयह्लुकि ॥

Kārikā—किराति चर्करीतान्तं पचतीत्यच यो नयेत् ।

प्राप्तिं तमहं मन्ये प्राप्तधस्तेन संभहः ॥

92. The reduplicate of a root, which ends in short अह्, gets, in the Intensive without यह्, the above augments री, रु, and रि ॥

Thus चर्कर्ति, चरिकर्ति, and चरीकर्ति, जर्हति, जरिहर्ति and जरीहर्ति ॥ Why do we say ‘which ends in a short अह्’? The rule does not apply to roots ending in long अह् as, चाकर्ति, चाकीर्ति, चाकिर्ति from कृ ॥ The word अहतः qualifies the word अह् and not the word अभ्यास, for an abhyāsa is always short, so the त् in अहतः would become meaningless if the word qualified reduplicate. Therefore कृ ending in long अह् does not get री, रु and रि augments in the reduplicate.

Kārikā—He who can conjugate, in the Present tense, the yan-luk Intensive of कृ and of other roots ending in long अह्, is considered by me to be a person who has attained to the right knowledge of the employment of the

augments इ, ई, ए &c: and he has obtained the right use of words.

The word किरति in the Kārikā is illustrative of all roots like कृ (किरति) ending in long अ॒ ॥ चर्कीति is the name given to the अ॒-लुक् form of the Intensive, by ancient grammarians. चर्कीतान्ति means, therefore, a form ending in yañ-luk. पञ्चति is illustrative of लट् or Present tense.

सन्वल्लघुनि चहूपरेऽनग्लोपे ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्वत्, लघुनि, चहू-परे, अन् अग्लोपे ॥

पृत्तिः ॥ लघुनि धात्वक्षेरे परतो योऽयासस्तस्य चहूपरे जौ परतः सनीव कार्यं भवति अनग्लोपे ॥

93. In the reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, the reduplicate adapts itself to that of the Desiderative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative affix.

The words of this sūtra require a little detailed explanation. The word सुनवत् means "like unto सन् or Desiderative"; i. e. as the Desiderative is treated, so should the अ॒ Aorist of the Causative. The words लघुनि and चहूपरे are both in the Locative case, but not in apposition with each other, but refer to different objects. लघुनि means 'when a light vowel follows', namely that reduplicate which is followed by the light root-vowel. The operations to be performed on such a reduplicate, in the अ॒ Aorist, after the णि are the same, as on the reduplicate of the Desiderative. अन्-अक्-लोपे "provided that a simple vowel of the Pratyāhāra अ॒ has not been elided". We read the word 'causative' into this sūtra, because there can be no other root which will form अ॒ Aorist. Causatives form such Aorist. (III. 1. 48), as well as the simple roots श्रि, द्रु and स्रु ॥ The words चहूपरे qualifies the word अ॒ understood: that stem which is followed by अ॒; therefore, it refers to the Causative stem, and not to the simple roots श्रि, dru and sru. The *light* vowel, therefore refers, to the light vowel of the *Causative stem* before अ॒ ॥

The word अनग्लोपे is in apposition with चहूपरे ॥ Thus कम् + णिह् (III. 1. 30) = अकाम् + इ + अत् (III. 1. 48) = अकाम् + अत् (VI. 4. 51) = अकम् + अत् (VII. 4. 41) = अचकम् + अत् (VI. 1. 11) = आचकम् + अत् (VII. 4. 79 read with VII. 4. 93) = अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 94).

Thus VII. 4. 79 teaches the substitution of इ for अ in the reduplicate of the Desiderative. The same substitution will take place in the reduplicate of the Aorist: as अचीकरत्, अपीपचत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 80, इ is substituted for the उ of the reduplicate in the Desiderative, the same will be the case in the reduplicate of the Aorist, as अपीपवत् and अलीलवत्, and अजीजवत् ॥ Thus by VII. 4. 81, इ is optionally substituted for उ in the Desiderative reduplicate of स्रु &c, the same will hold good in the Aorist-reduplicate, as असिष्वत् or असुखवत्, अशिष्वत्

or अशुभ्रवत्, अविद्रवत् or अदुद्रवत्, अपिमवत् or अमुमवत्, अपिद्ववत् or अगुहवत्, अचिच्यवत् or अचुच्यवत् ॥ Why do we say 'having a light vowel'? Observe अततक्षत्, अरतक्षत्, अजागरत् ॥

Some say, that in अजागरत्, the syllable ए is *light*, and therefore, the san-vat rule would apply: for a light vowel no where *immediately* follows a reduplicate; therefore, though a long syllable जा intervenes, yet the rule will apply, because of the express text. This reasoning is wrong. The maxim येन नाश्यवधानं तेनश्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात् cannot be extended to cases like this. It applies only when the intervention consists of one letter and not of more than one. Obj. If so, how do you form अचिक्षणत् for here two letters क् and ष् (ष्ट) intervene between the reduplicate and the light vowel. Ans. The author indicates by implication in VII. 4. 95 that these roots like क्षण् do take इ in the reduplicate; for had it not been so, what was the necessity of making an exception in favor of roots like स्तु, त्वर, स्तृ, स्पृश् in VII. 4. 95. So that a conjunct consonant is not considered an intervention for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, स्तु &c would have taken इ in the reduplicate by VII. 4. 79, read with the present sūtra, and so the Achārya enjoins अ instead in VII. 4. 95 with regard to these.

Why do we say 'when चक follows'? Observe अहं पपच ॥ Why do we use the word पर "followed by"? The rule would not apply when चक alone follows without णि, as अचकमत् where कम् has taken चक् under the vārtika केस्तु-पसंख्यानम् ॥

Why do we say 'when an अक vowel has not been dropped'? Observe अचकथत् from the Churādi root कथ which ends in अ, and this अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. Obj. This lopa being considered sthānivat, will prevent the application of the present rule, as there will be an intervention. Ans. We shall give another example, अदृष्टत् from दृष्टद्वाख्यातवान् ॥ Here णिच् is added to दृष्ट् under the Vārtika तत्कपोतितवाच्छटे, and the दि portion is elided by इष्टव्यावः; here a vowel and a consonant have been elided, and so the lopa is not sthānivat.

In the double causative Aorist अवीवद्वत् the present rule applies, though one णि has been elided. अवीवद्वत् = वादितवन्ते प्रयोजितवान् ॥ In fact, the elision of one णि when followed by another णि is not considered as an ak-lopa; the latter refers to the elision of any other vowel than ण ॥ Therefore we have अवीवद्वद्व-वीणां परिवादकेन ॥ In fact, this exception rests on the following vārtika सन्वद्भाव-सीर्घच्च जे णिच्छुपसंख्यानम् ॥

The lopa of the reduplicate which takes place before सन् of the roots मी, मा &c (VII. 4. 54) does not, however, take place in चक् Aorist. The analogy does not extend so far. In fact, the present sūtra teaches a रूपातिवेश,

namely the *form* which a reduplicate has in Desiderative, will be the *form* in the Aorist. But as मी, मा &c have no reduplicate form in the Desiderative, the analogy stops. Therefore, we shall have अमीमपत् ॥ Moreover the word सन्दर् here means the operations that depend *solely* on सन् ॥ Now the total elision of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 54 does not depend upon सन् *alone*, but upon the augment इस् also of VII. 4. 54. But as there can be no इस् in the Aorist, so there will be no elision also. In fact, an atidesā should be confined to general cases and not to particulars.

दीर्घों लघोः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घः, लघोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घों भवति लघोरभ्यासस्य लघुनि जौ चहृपरे उनग्लोये ॥

94. In the reduplicative syllable, a prosodially short vowel is lengthened in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the Causative णि ॥

Thus अचीकरत्, the इ (VII. 4. 79) is lengthened. Similarly अजीहरत्, अलीलवत्, अपीचत् ॥ Why do we say which is prosodially light? Observe अत्त-भजत् ॥ Why do we say when the vowel of the root is light? Observe अततक्षत्, अतरक्षत् ॥ Why do we say in the reduplicated Aorist? Observe अहं पष्ठ ॥ The word पर is understood here also, so the rule will not apply to simple roots as अचक्षमत् ॥ The words 'anaglope' are to be read here, therefore not so in अचक्षयत् ॥

अत्स्मृदृत्वरप्रथम्भ्रदस्तृस्पशाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत, स्मृ-दृ-त्वर-प्रथ-भ्रद, स्तृ-स्पशाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मृ दृ त्वर प्रथ भ्र तृ स्पश इत्येतामभ्यासस्यादित्यमादेशो भवति चहृपरे जौ परतः ॥

95. Short अ is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, of the roots smṛi, dṛī, tvar, prath, mrad, strī and spaś,

Thus असमरत्, अददरत्, अतत्वरत्, अपपथत्, अग्नभ्रत्, अतस्तरत्, अपस्पशत् ॥ This debars the इ which would have come under VII. 4. 93. The 'short अ indicates that it is not to be lengthened by VII. 4. 94, as अददरत् ॥

विभाषा वेष्टिचेष्टयोः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेष्टि, चेष्टयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेष्टि चेष्टि इत्येतयोरभ्यासस्य विभाषा अदित्यमादेशो भवति चहृपरे जौ परतः ॥

96. Short अ is optionally substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in वेष्टि and चेष्टि in the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative.

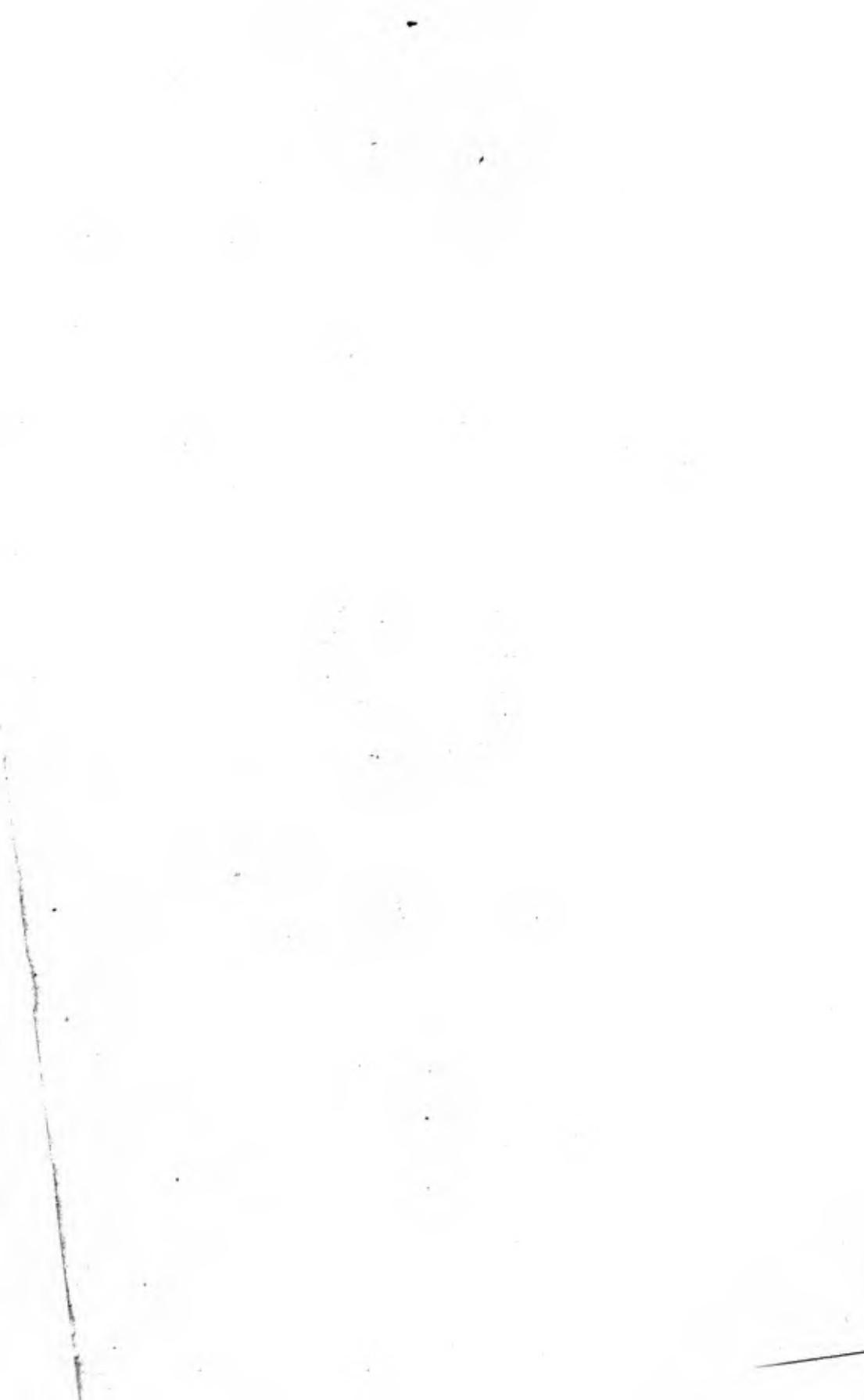
Thus अववेष्टत् or अविवेष्टत्, अच्चेष्टत् and अचिच्छेष्टत् ॥ In one alternative there is shortening of the reduplicate (VII. 4. 59), and after such shortening, there is अ substituted in the other alternative.

ईच गणः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, गणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गणेरभ्यासस्य ईकारादेशो भवति चहपैर णौ परतः ॥

97. In the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative, ई is substituted optionally for the vowel of the reduplicate in गण ॥

As अजीगणत् or अजगणत् ॥ गण is a root which ends in अ, and this अ being elided by VI. 4. 48 before the Causative णि, the rule VII. 4. 93, does not apply to it, because there is an ak-lopa here, so in the other alternative, it has its natural अ ॥





See Fig. I

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110 ft

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